

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

The CIA:
40 inglorious years

NEW TIMES

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY

AUG 28 1987

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

THE REFORM IN ACTION

**NARCOMAFIA
ON THE OFFENSIVE?**

**MOSCOW
FILM FESTIVAL ENDS**

1917-1987

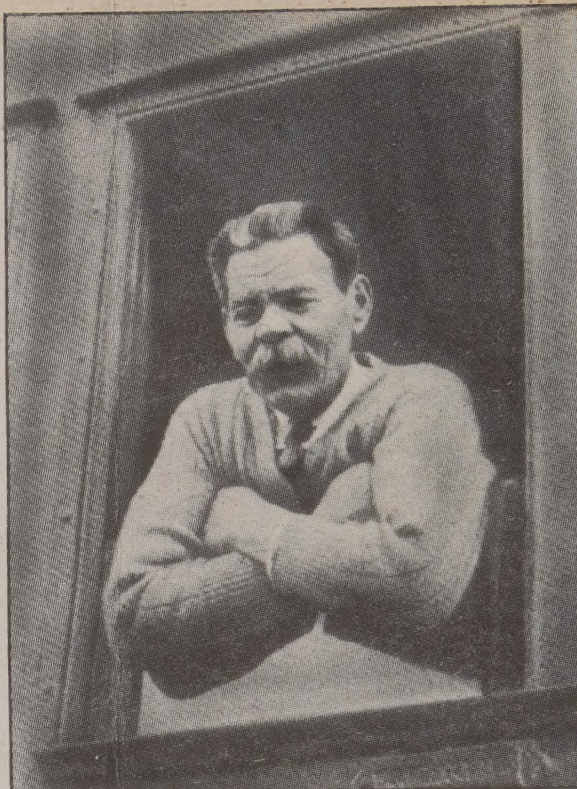
TIME AND PEOPLE

In the 1930s, Soviet literature identified with the destinies of the nation. Writers sought answers to the difficult questions raised by their experience. They tried to gain a deeper insight into the revolutionary events of the recent past, and hold up a mirror to the many changes of their time. Maxim Gorky completed his epic "The Life of Klim Samgin," Mikhail Sholokhov worked

on his "And Quiet Flows the Don," and Alexei Tolstoy wrote the trilogy "The Road to Calvary."

The 1930s saw the first five-year-plan periods. The nation was building industrial giants in an all-out, almost superhuman effort, denying itself many of the basic necessities. Most writers went to work at factories and construction sites for a spell in search of first-hand impressions. Leonid Leonov's novel "Soviet River" is set at the building site of a paper mill. In her "Hydrocentrale," Marietta Shaginyan described the building of new relationships between working people. Valentin Katayev traced the history of Magnitogorsk in the novel "Time Forward!" The poet Nikolai Tikhonov sang of human fortitude and achievement.

But with every peaceful year, the presentiment of



Maxim Gorky returns from Italy.



Ilya Ehrenburg at the Paris Congress of Writers (centre).

Nikolai Ostrovsky, Andrei Platonov, Mikhail Bulgakov, Leonid Leonov, Marietta Shaginyan. . . It is only for want of space that we cannot extend this galaxy.

imminent war grew stronger. Soviet writers were among those who sensed the danger of fascism most keenly. In 1935, a large delegation of Soviet authors went to Paris for the First World Congress of Writers in Defence of Culture. The Second Congress was held in Spain two years later. Ilya Ehrenburg and Mikhail Koltsov spent months at the Spanish fronts sharing all the hardships and privations of war with Republican soldiers.

The 1930s saw heated debates on the mission of the man of letters, the purpose of literature, and

the methodological and conceptual problems of fiction writing. True, the outcome of these debates was decided at times by high-handed injunctions. Many outstanding writers were subjected to repression or undeserved prosecutions.

Nevertheless, the best books created then convey the spirit of the time, with its achievements and errors, triumphs and tragic delusions—a time of privations and great expectations, poor in entertainment and rich in dreams, lacking in creature comforts but galvanized by tremendous enthusiasm.



2
Editorial
FIVE BILLION!

3
U.S.S.R.: Restructuring and Democracy
Yuri Shevchenko. **THE WORKER'S
PRIDE RETURNS**

5
Asian-Pacific region
VLADIVOSTOK - A YEAR LATER

8
Panorama

11
Cyprus
Vladimir Kosov. **A HELPING HAND**

12
Afghanistan
Boris Gan. **NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION.
HOW IT WORKS**

14
Nicaragua
Alexander Trushin. **THE REVOLUTION
STANDS FIRM**

16
Taking up a point
Alexander Baryshev. **LET US SORT
THINGS OUT**

17
Readers' forum. Comment



Herat, Afghanistan. Enemies yesterday,
allies today.



Hungary. "Glasnost" needs no translation.



Prize-winner Dorottya Udvaros.

18
CIA - A RECORD OF IMMORALITY

21
Media
Felix Goryunov. **KNOWLEDGE IS
STRENGTH**

23
Alexander Pumpysky. **A SACRED
CAUSE**

26
Fiction
Leonid Ionin. **THE "CHILDREN OF
THE ARBAT" FIFTY YEARS ON**

28
Moscow Film Festival
Neya Zorkaya. **THE LIGHTS HAVE
FADED, THE FLAG IS DOWN**

30
Narcotics
Georgi Ostroumov. **NARCOMAFIA
AND NARCOMANIA**

32
Universiad-87
Vladimir Grishny. **STUDENT ATHLETES
PASS THE TEST**

Cover by Gennady Koposov

VLADIVOSTOK — A YEAR LATER



To ensure security and stability in the Asian-Pacific region, and establish mutually beneficial economic cooperation there - such were the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986. What progress has been made since then! What are the obstacles in the way of implementing the Soviet programme!

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief:
V. IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
Y. GUDKOV,
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
A. PUMPYANSKY

Editor of English Edition:
E. Smirnov

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY

AUG 28 1987

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro

FROM OUR MAILBAG

It was with enormous pleasure and interest that I read, in your issue No. 12 for 1987, an excerpt from the play "The Brest Peace" by Mikhail Shatrov. I am interested in history, and I have read a lot about the developments in Soviet Russia after the October Revolution. This seems to be the first time, however, that its leader, Lenin, has been depicted in all the dimensions of his personality. We see him at once staunch and hesitant, arguing and making out his case. Thank you for this publication. I'd very much like to read the play in full.

ANTONIO MIRANDA
Melbourne, Australia

I suspect that in Italy and elsewhere in Europe the peace movement is on the decline. When the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. were held equally responsible, thousands of pacifists marched through the streets. And now that an agreement has become a realistic proposition thanks to Soviet initiatives, silence has set in. Wake up, European pacifists! The time has come to support the Soviet policy of peace and disarmament.

PAOLO DE GREGORIO
Rome, Italy

I suggest New Times start a new column depicting, and carrying brief descriptions of, various modern weapons - nuclear, chemical and bacteriological.... This will give the readers an idea of how destructive and dangerous these weapons are, and bring home to them the importance of achieving disarmament as early as possible, as a nuclear war simply cannot be won: it will wipe mankind out for good.

ELIEZEL RODRIGUEZ
Havana, Cuba

EDITORIAL

FIVE BILLION!

The world's population has topped the five billion mark - an impressive figure. It makes one stop and think about oneself as a purely mathematical quantity, and about the future of those who have already spilled over into the sixth billion.

The population of the world has doubled over less than four decades, with as many as 220,000 babies being born every day. Demographers expect population growth to stabilize at about 10 billion towards the end of the 21st century. So much for statistics. Let's now proceed to politics.

The U.N.-proclaimed Day of Five Billion was marked on a wide scale in July. This fact is most indicative in itself. People feel justly proud of having made such a "birthday" possible at all by pitting their willpowers, intelligence and talents against child mortality, famine and epidemics and forcing these evils to recede. However, a concerted worldwide effort in attacking them would have made the success still more impressive.

Today, over 700 million people still do not have enough to eat; many still die of diseases for which the cure is no longer a problem; hundreds of millions still live from hand to mouth, and can neither read nor write. In the developing world, these problems are at their most acute. Nevertheless, the West continues to tighten the noose around the necks of Third World countries. Last year, some of the poorer countries had to part with nearly 50 billion dollars to service their external debt, which runs into a trillion. Just think of all the hungry, homeless and illiterate this money could have fed, sheltered and taught!

But all our social problems,

however pressing, are forced into the background by the problem of survival. The planet is larded with nuclear explosives. The fate of human civilization hangs less on malicious intent than on blind chance. Moscow is repeatedly calling for the high-explosive charge that is threatening the future of mankind to be defused, and for elimination of nuclear stockpiles.

Such a resolute step presupposes new thinking and the discarding of the old "enemy image." It is necessary to learn to combine national and universal human interests, and get down to the restructuring of international relations. Security is a vital need for all five billion of us.

Talk of limited nuclear wars cannot be taken seriously nowadays. If a nuclear war ever breaks out, it will be the end of us all.

Consider two figures, 150 and 1.7 million. The former stands for the increment of the world's population per minute, and the latter - for a minute's military spending in dollars.

How many the new-born earthlings are doomed to hunger, disease and stark poverty?

The number of these unfortunates could have been drastically reduced by the implementation of the disarmament for development principle advanced by the Soviet Union. The funds released by the disarmament would go into solving global problems, world economic relations would become more balanced, and on the world political scene confrontation would give way to cooperation.

It is the moral duty of mankind to do everything in its power to ensure its young long and happy lives.

THE WORKER'S PRIDE RETURNS

Alexander Pavlovich Pugantsov is a fitter of forty years' standing. At Moscow's Kalibr tool-making factory he is known as "a craftsman with hands of gold," and "a second director."

In accordance with the Soviet Law on state enterprise, Pugantsov has recently been elected chairman of the Kalibr workers' council.

What is the worker's attitude to the current socio-economic changes in the country? How does he assess and interpret them? Where does he come in? In what ways does the reform manifest itself in the factory, the factory shop, the workers' team?

Our correspondent Yuri Shevchenko discussed all this with Alexander Pugantsov.



"In the last issue of our magazine we quoted Marshall Goldman, the distinguished American politologist, and deputy director of Harvard University's Russian Research Centre, as saying: 'The main trouble with these reforms is that they mean nothing to the workers.' How would you comment on this statement?"

"Let's begin right from the team of which I'm the leader. All five fitters in it have changed over, in accordance with the Law on state enterprise, to a new pay system, the so-called team contract. Let me explain. The team is assigned an output quota and issued a total wage fund. It is up to us to decide how to fulfil the assignment, distribute jobs and share the money. Under the fixed wage system accepted previously, the worker was not interested in producing more than was provided for by the plan. Now it makes a lot of difference to us if we fulfil an assignment faster, or put fewer men on the job - after all, the wage fund remains the same.

"The 'do more and better, earn more' principle stimulates workers to greater efficiency. In time, given proper organization, many teams may prove able to manage with fewer men, and extra hands will be released as a result."

"Do you consider this normal and fair?"

"I do, because it will help streamline production."

"But at the cost of what? The jobs of redundant workers?"

"Nobody's going to be left without jobs. Labour is short all over the country, so these workers will be re-trained,

offered a chance to learn new or related skills. The reform is in fact prompting many to do so. It is now simply inexpedient for a factory to keep workers it can do without."

"But you can't very well apply the criterion of expediency to a human being, can you?"

"All right, let's take a concrete example. I had not a bad fitter in my team, Alexander Kurochkin by name. He didn't like the 'team contract' pay system and quit, but wasn't dismissed from the factory for that, of course. Nobody forces this form of work on anyone. Alexander reckoned that with his skill rating he would earn more working on his own than in a team. Actually, it didn't work out that way: the shop superintendent and the foremen usually assign the most complicated - and, consequently, the most "lucrative" - jobs to teams. Management knows that a team will never let it down - by definition, it stands for discipline and mutual assistance; should any member of a team fall ill, his mates will certainly do his share of the job. It can't be otherwise because we work on a common contract. Now a fitter working on his own is hard to replace if taken ill. So Kurochkin did himself a bad turn by leaving the team. Taking a broader view of things, the inevitable release of labour resulting from a rational organization of production serves to step up discipline. In a situation where the economic reform is under way and everyone is treated according to his merits, a worker has only himself to blame, if he gets the sack. This can happen to him if he is too lazy

to learn a new skill, for instance; or if he lets his mates down by failing to fulfil his commitments under a collective agreement which is now law; or if he does not improve his professional skill and just carries on at his old pace."

"Does that mean that the practice of working on a team contract, and the economic reform in general, compel one to improve?"

"That's the whole point! And that's the chief benefit one gets from the reform, although higher pay is also a substantial argument for it. Speaking of pay, as a team leader I am supposed to reward better-than-average performance with bonuses at the expense of less efficient workers. Deducting money from someone's pay and giving it to someone else as an influence is a tricky practice: if all the team members work equally well and draw their pay in full, where is the bonus money to come from?"

"Do you mean that working on a team contract has its disadvantages?"

"As it is now, this arrangement needs further adjustment and lacks flexibility. It has still to fit in with the system of self-support and self-financing."

"Alexander Pavlovich, you were elected chairman of the workers' council. How would you explain your colleagues' choice?"

"Well, I headed our plant's labour disputes arbitration commission for years, was a judge of sorts, and always tried to be fair...."

"Doesn't the council have different functions?"

"It does, and it is vested with extensive powers. We have the right to

challenge managerial decisions we disagree with. If the director won't budge, we are authorized to get the work collective together and put the issue to the vote."

"Do you think such conflicts possible?"

"Let's say, they are not to be ruled out. Nobody wants to quarrel of course, but I realize that any factory director free to use profits as he thinks fit would like to invest more in, say, the development of production. On the other hand, the council may prefer to fund the construction of the factory's own tourist hotel or holiday sanatorium, and will certainly press its demand."

"Could you please talk about your council in more detail. How is its membership made up, how will it function, what will you start with?"

"The council has forty members, two thirds of them workers and engineers. We've recruited the most authoritative people, the most deserving. The rest are members of the factory's executive staff: some shop superintendents, planning experts, deputy chiefs of the production, accounts and technology departments. The council is to tackle a number of major (global, I call them) factory problems, that of overstocking to begin with."

"What's this?"

"In the past every factory, our own included, accumulated an enormous dead stock of raw material, equipment, materials and accessory components - a legacy of irrational economic management. We have to get rid of these surpluses which could come in useful elsewhere. So we'll put them up for sale. The director has already ordered that our store-room be cleared of them, and the council is thinking of ways to do this. We can sell the surpluses, put them to new uses at our own factory, or draw on them in carrying out co-production projects. In short, this is an important part of our rationalization drive. The problem is being dealt with by ten members of the council. Another ten are busy introducing and optimizing new progressive pay rates for all personnel categories ranging from machine-tool operators to designers, aimed at bringing pay into conformity with the actual amount of work done, giving people the material incentive to improve the quality of products and show a creative approach in what they do. This is very hard work, but we've got some wizard economists in our commission. In a word, we are getting the wage policy under our workers' control. The idea is to give every good worker his due, and to make every incompetent one stop and ask himself if he is the right man on the right job."

"Profit distribution is one of the most complex problems facing the commission (true, it is a matter for the future)."

"Are you preparing to deal with it?"

"Of course we are. Profit distribution

is to become a means of running our factory in a more rational and efficient way. I have already mentioned a likely dispute with management over whether to spend the money on a holiday sanatorium, or on production development. It will be quite some time before such disputes materialize. Our top-priority task today is to purchase precision instruments and the latest equipment for the factory."

"How come the Kalibr factory, a supplier of modern equipment to fifty countries, is trying to buy it?"

"Unfortunately, we are short of NC machine-tools and measuring instruments. Even the equipment we get stands idle for months. There are no fitting premises to install it in. The operation of a numerically-controlled machine will only be trouble-free if it is installed in a clean room with a specific atmospheric temperature. Consequently, we must overhaul our old factory premises and learn to take better care of production equipment. This is one of the council's concerns today."

"Tell me frankly, are you sure that your council will not go the way of sundry public councils and commissions which have mushroomed in the past but proved of little practical use?"

"I'm pretty certain it won't. The situation has changed today. Besides, our council is not merely a consultative body. Please note that a self-supporting factory which is supposed to pay its way has found it expedient to afford the luxury of recruiting 40 people to a public council (as chairman of the council, I've even been given one day off my regular work, with pay, to attend to my new duties). The council is expected to be of practical benefit. If we fail, new council members will be elected instead. We are the organizing force of the reform at the factory. As from early next year, we shall have the quality of our products inspected by a state commission. The council is responsible for preparing for this procedure, and making it less painful."

"Painful, you said?"

"You see, many may lose out in pay initially, I mean bodgers of course. The way I see it, this new form of quality inspection means that the state has to be reckoned with. There is nothing to feel sore about. Simply one should realize that the state will always repay respect for it in kind.... I must say that much of what impedes the reform is beyond the workingman's control. Plants that offer their workers every condition for efficient work measuring up to top world standards are still few and far between. Modern equipment is in short supply. Moreover, our industry still adheres to the objectionable practice of doing its best for export, and only its second best for the home market. State quality inspection commissions will put an end to this long-established practice. If

a product is not top-quality, it will be uncompromisingly rejected in any case. A truly revolutionary measure! Some will certainly feel wronged. But I repeat: they will have only themselves - their habits and their negligence - to blame, not the state."

"What other current developments have to do with the reform?"

"This is a general question, and I shall give you a general answer to it: democratization of all aspects of our way of life, openness, lowering the barriers between executives and their subordinates, dissemination of economic knowledge. Speaking of our factory, I'd add to these the classification of jobs and of the workers themselves. True, such a classification was already carried out in the country a year or two ago. But it was premature, I think. It is only at a self-supporting enterprise that pays its way that a worker's professional standard can be judged for what it really is. There were no such enterprises before, and we rated workers by rule of thumb rather than on the basis of their actual performance. The changeover to self-support dots all the i's and crosses all the t's, and sorts people out (and jobs, too). This is what I call real professional classification...."

"Another complicated business is building up the factory's own fund. It takes money to buy and master advanced equipment, and introduce a new wage system. Previously, the fund was formed at the state's expense, and now we are to earn it. You can borrow money, of course.... But few factory managers will plunge into debt of their own free will. In a word, there is plenty to rack our brains about."

"So, what is your comment on Marshall Goldman's words again?"

"...About the reform meaning nothing to us workers? Well, I am told that Mr Goldman is an expert, but he's got it all wrong this time. He would be well advised to come over and take a look at what's going on here. I'm sure he'd have second thoughts then and satisfy himself that the economic reform is in the interests first and foremost of the workingman. We have just discussed both the brighter side and the problems of the present day. Things are not going to be easy for the workers, indeed, they will have to pull themselves together, improve, do conscientious, high-quality work, and bear full responsibility for its results. But all these problems are to the good, aren't they?"

"The ruble is not the universal yardstick, if it was the ruble that Mr Goldman had in mind. Incidentally, we are now earning more. But there are also such things as self-respect, the worker's dignity and the worker's pride which, thanks to the reform, are coming back to us. These things are of much greater value to us."

VLADIVOSTOK — A YEAR LATER

On July 28, 1986, speaking in Vladivostok, Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a programme for a comprehensive security system in the Asian-Pacific region.

- What changes has the past year seen in that part of the world?
- Who is opposed to positive changes?
- What can be done to resolve the outstanding problems?

Prof. Dmitry Petrov, department head at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Far East Institute, took part last year in the magazine's round-table discussions. Our correspondent Rostislav Zolotaryov arranged another meeting with him.

New Times. Professor Petrov, what concrete steps has the Soviet Union taken to improve the situation in that part of the world?

Petrov. The Soviet Union has backed up the proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev with diplomatic, political and military moves.

A number of new proposals complementing the Vladivostok initiatives were made during the meetings and talks Soviet leaders had with leaders of countries belonging to the Asian-Pacific Region (APR) who visited Moscow. The Delhi Declaration signed last November during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India was of historic significance. The Soviet stand on the problems of the region was explained and discussed in detail during the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's tour of Australia, Indonesia, Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam and his visit to Thailand last March.

As for the concrete steps taken by the Soviet Union, they were designed to promote a settlement of the most important regional problems. For instance, agreement was reached with the Mongolian government on the withdrawal of a considerable part of the Soviet troop contingent temporarily stationed in the country. Another factor of great significance in improving the political climate of the region was the withdrawal of six Soviet regiments from Afghanistan. There have also been considerable diplomatic efforts on our part to eliminate still existing seats of tension.

N.T. How would you describe the changes in the situation in the APR as a whole?

Petrov. First of all, Soviet initiatives and practical steps are convincing the peoples and political circles of the countries in the area that we sincerely seek to promote a new situation in the region and are prepared to make significant compromises to achieve that end.

Secondly, other socialist countries in Asia are pursuing a considerably more active policy and have put forward a number of constructive initiatives. For instance, the Mongolian government has taken steps to get things off the ground with respect to its proposal to conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and the non-use of force between Asian countries. North Korea's government has proposed proclaiming the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone, as well as measures that would promote the peaceful reunification of Korea.

In Kampuchea, a process of national reconciliation has begun, and units of the Vietnamese voluntary forces are being withdrawn. Hanoi, Vientiane and Phnompenh have made proposals aimed at finding a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea and fostering broad cooperation between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries.

The Chinese People's Republic has announced its desire for stable and lasting peace in Asia, which it regards as essential for the tasks of socialist construction.

All the socialist countries of the region have stated their readiness to seek ways of establishing new, just international relations in the area. So they have provided every prerequisite for constructive dialogue with the capitalist countries of the region.

Thirdly. Those sections of the population whose interests in the past were restricted to day-to-day economic demands have now joined the political movement. Awareness of the nuclear threat has become the common platform for bringing together the efforts of trade union, peasant, youth, religious and other organizations in the APR. The conference of churches of the Pacific region, which includes representatives of the Catholic, Anglican and Evangelical churches, has come out against the threat of nuclear war.

The anti-nuclear and anti-war movement takes different forms. In Japan, for example, more than a thousand towns, settlements and communities have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. In the ASEAN countries the call to make Southeast Asia a nuclear-free zone is being heard increasingly often.

The consultative meeting of representatives of communist and revolutionary democratic parties held recently in Ulan

The movement against the nuclear threat is gaining momentum in Japan.



Bator received considerable international acclaim.

Fourthly, reacting to public pressure, the governments of a number of countries in the region have declared the struggle against the nuclear threat to be the aim of their policy. Countries belonging to the South Pacific Forum signed the Rarotonga Treaty proclaiming the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. Two nuclear powers - the U.S.S.R. and China - have pledged to respect the treaty. The Japanese government has repeatedly stated that it will abide strictly by the three non-nuclear principles - not to possess, not to produce and not to import nuclear weapons. New Zealand has passed a law banning entry into its ports and territorial waters of nuclear-powered ships or ships carrying nuclear weapons.

N.T. What is preventing the realization of Soviet initiatives, and promotion of economic development and cooperation in the region?

Petrov. Unfortunately, there are many obstacles. The principal ones are created by the U.S.A. and countries backing Washington's policy of a continued arms race. The Reagan administration is trying to change the balance of strategic forces, and is building up its strength and presence in the APR, where the highest concentration - after Western Europe - of general-purpose American armed forces is to be found. What is causing particular concern is that new types of weapon are now being brought into the region.

I shall not go into greater detail about the military-political problems of the region, as the previous issue of your magazine dwelt on them at some length. I should like simply to stress once again that the main obstacle to normalizing the situation in the APR is the imperialist powers' refusal to negotiate ways of scaling down military tensions there.

To this can be added the outstanding political problems of the region, the conflicts and contradictions between some of the countries, and the political instability in some areas and in some countries. The fact that the developing countries of the region are economically dependent on the capitalist countries often prevents them from supporting the proposals of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, as well as from putting forward proposals of their own.

N.T. The Soviet Union has suggested widening mutually advantageous economic ties on an equal bilateral or multilateral footing. What are the prospects for such cooperation?

Petrov. Not bad, on the whole, although there are a number of difficulties. Some people dislike the idea of such cooperation, as was evidenced by the recent incident concerning the sale

of machine tools to the U.S.S.R. by the Japanese firm Toshiba Kikai.

There are also objective difficulties stemming from the system of international division of labour already operating in the region. The prospect of the U.S.S.R. becoming more closely involved in it depends on how successfully we

connection. Last year we spoke of the scepticism displayed by capitalist publications about the possibility of Soviet participation in the regional division of labour. Since then, this scepticism has diminished. Only recently, for example, the Japanese signed an agreement with us on the first joint venture.



The U.S. has concentrated in the Asian Pacific region its second-strongest (after Western Europe) all-arms force. The diagram reproduced from the Italian magazine *Panorama* designates U.S. military bases in the Indian and Pacific oceans.

restructure our economic mechanism, and especially foreign trade, as well as on the pace of development of our Eastern regions.

I should like to make one point in this

N.T. Summing up, one could perhaps say that some headway in the region has been made, although only a year has elapsed since the Soviet Union came out with new initiatives in Vladivostok.

Petrov. A year isn't very long. But the Soviet programme is long-term. The proposed steps for a radical improvement in the situation in the Asian and Pacific region are an important component in creating a comprehensive system of international security.

That was the view of a Soviet expert. But how do other countries in the region see the situation? The well-known Japanese journalist, Yasuo Suzuki of Yomiuri, gives his views

It would be excellent if it proved possible to implement the proposals put forward by the General Secretary of the CPSU. Unfortunately, it seems improbable that they can be put into effect in the immediate future.

A desire to advance Japanese-Soviet relations was expressed in the speech. The agreement on the expansion of cultural ties was a positive move. But no noticeable progress in the political relations between our two countries has been made since the Vladivostok

speech.

The Korean peninsula remains a serious source of conflict. In my view the U.S.S.R. could play an important role in finding a settlement in a situation that remains extremely unstable. Evidently, the future will see major changes taking place there. Military rule in South Korea is a thing of the past. And I would say that, on the whole, the country is moving towards a democratization of the regime. There could be regresses, but there can be no doubt that the population of South Korea must be given greater rights to

participate in the running of their country.

As for Soviet-Chinese relations, they are now on the upsurge and are developing in a favourable, much needed direction. The impression one gets is that China is expanding ties with the U.S.S.R. in the hope of prompting the U.S. and Japan more actively to expand contacts with it.

But there are many difficulties at present in our relations with China. Chinese leaders have accused Japan of reviving militarism. Personally I think this is an imaginary problem.

Security in the Asian and Pacific region requires stability in the Philippines.

It was suggested in Vladivostok that

an all-Asian conference on the model of the Helsinki conference be held. But the situation in Asia differs very greatly from that in Europe. The clash of political, economic and military interests in Asia is more varied and acute. In my opinion, the early convocation of such a conference is hardly probable. But, on the other hand, Gorbachev's position is very flexible. I think the proposal for an all-Asian conference was put forward to evoke, among other things, counterproposals from the countries concerned.

Another extremely complex and serious problem is Afghanistan. Everyone is following events there closely and waiting to see what step will now be taken by the U.S.S.R.

The number of local conflicts in Asia has lately been reduced. In many

countries of the region the once active anti-government movements have subsided. I do not think a serious interstate conflict in the Pacific is likely. There exists a fairly stable balance of forces in the region, and that in itself provides a basis for security. At the same time there is a certain tension arising from attempts to upset this balance. Yet I believe that the existing balance will be preserved.

The most explosive situation today, in my view, is not in the Pacific, but in the Middle East - because of the continuing Iran-Iraq war. There the interests of the U.S.S.R. and other countries, especially the U.S.A., are directly affected. Constructive efforts to settle that conflict would serve to improve the situation in Asia and the world.

Two Indian experts - K. Subrahmanyam, Director of the New Delhi Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, and C. Raja Mohan, staff member of the Institute - give their views on the problems of peace and security in the region.

The essence of the Vladivostok proposals is to strive for the perestroika (restructuring) of Asian-Pacific relations in order to move towards a more peaceful, stable Asian-Pacific region.

We have no differences with the approach of Mikhail Gorbachev to Asian-Pacific affairs, and we support it. But we would like to highlight some of the problems.

Let us look at the nuclear arms race in the Asian-Pacific region. It is not confined only to the U.S.-Soviet confrontation. It is much more complex. There are three major nuclear weapon states: the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China. And France conducts its nuclear tests in the area. Besides, there are at least two covert nuclear powers (Israel, Pakistan) and perhaps others in the making. Israel and Pakistan have been permitted to go nuclear by the United States and its allies.

The Soviet Union has supported the nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific and the proposed one in Southeast Asia. This demonstrates Soviet good faith for nuclear disarmament. But strategic realism compels the admission that the South Pacific nuclear-free-zone treaty puts no obstacles in the way of all current U.S. nuclear activity in the area. In essence it legitimizes their bases, facilities, nuclear ship visits, transit of nuclear weapons, etc. The Rarotonga Treaty, in our opinion, has not hurt U.S.

strategic interests in the region, while it defuses the expanding anti-nuclear sentiment there. (Yet the U.S. refuses to sign the treaty.)

As part of its policy of nuclear containment, the U.S. has created an expansive nuclear infrastructure around the Eurasian landmass in the Indian and Pacific oceans. It is a network that includes Turkey, Oman, Diego Garcia, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea and Japan. If the nuclear-free zones end up legitimizing this vast infrastructure, the concept then is not a step forward.

In our struggle for a nuclear-free world the measures that must be pursued are the elimination of all foreign bases of great powers, the rolling back of nuclear weapons to the territories of nuclear weapon states, restrictions on the naval component of the nuclear arms race and drastic reductions of existing nuclear arsenals. All these and other measures find a chord in the Vladivostok speech and the Delhi Declaration, and must be pursued.

The second important facet of the Soviet proposals is the urgent need to restructure great power relations in the region. Unlike in the Atlantic and Europe, we have here a highly complex quadrangular relationship involving the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and Japan. The success of the Asian-Pacific initiative would depend to a large degree on the dynamics of this quadrilateral.

Apart from the U.S., a major factor in the Asian security situation is China.

Without effective Chinese participation, all attempts at Asian security are indeed unviable. The Asian nations must make all efforts to accommodate legitimate Chinese concerns to make peace in Asia real. But it serves no purpose in remaining silent on disturbing trends in Chinese foreign policy.

The evolution of Japan as a major global economic power and the emerging U.S.-Japan economic contradictions would perhaps have a significant bearing on Asian-Pacific security.

The third element of the Gorbachev initiative is to create multilateral forms of political confidence-building and increased economic cooperation. A Helsinki-type of arrangement would be far more complex to achieve in Asia. Specifically, because in Asia-Pacific there are a large number of developing nations which are yet to evolve into stable nation-states. The internal instability makes them tempting targets for foreign intervention. A stable arrangement can only come about by making non-intervention a basic norm of international relations.

The listing of the complexities in Asia Pacific is not to be seen as a damper on the important Asian-Pacific peace and security proposals.

The Vladivostok initiative is a good beginning. The Soviet activity since then - both in relation to disarmament and regional conflicts - is one that gives hope for increasing the prospects for peace in Asia Pacific.

Delhi

Cuba's first atomic power plant

ON JULY 26 THE CUBAN PEOPLE MARKED THE 34TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HEROIC STORMING OF THE MONCADA BARRACKS BY A GROUP OF PATRIOTS LED BY FIDEL CASTRO. THIS ATTACK ON ONE OF THE MAIN BASTIONS OF THE BATISTA DICTATORSHIP HERALDED THE IMMINENT VICTORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

On the eve of the holiday tests of the first power unit at the heat and power plant Havana-del-Este had been successfully completed. This plant, the biggest of its kind in the country, is being built near the Cuban capital with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union.

The republic's cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA states now embraces all main branches of industry and agriculture. But the power industry holds a key place.

Cuba's first nuclear power



LOOKING AHEAD WITH HOPE AND FAITH.

[A portrait of a Matahambre miner by the Cuban art photographer Osvaldo Salas]

plant Juragua is under construction near Cienfuegos, on the southern coast. It is fitted with Soviet equipment. The first section consists of two

reactors built for seismic zones, with a capacity of 417 megawatts each. When linked up to the national power grid, it will save the country about

two million tons of oil a year.

Following the Chernobyl accident, concern was voiced in the United States over the construction of the Juragua nuclear power plant. Replying to a letter from U.S. Congressman Michael Bilirakis, Fidel Castro stressed that no country neighbouring on Cuba should have any cause for concern, since both the quality of the construction work and the level of training of the plant's personnel guarantee complete safety of its operation.

In keeping with its design, the Juragua plant can stand up to such hardly probable accidents as the fall of an aircraft on it, an earthquake or an underwater earthquake - extremely rare in that region, without creating any danger to the environment.

The plant rests on a monolithic block of special grade concrete, and its reactors will be tightly covered with concrete cupolas, while special systems will prevent the contamination of the environment with radio-active matter. The construction of Cuba's first nuclear power plant is kept under special control by the government.

SERGEI SEREDA

Havana

INDIA

Election of a new president

THE CANDIDATE OF THE RULING NATIONAL CONGRESS (I) RAMASWAMI VENKATARAMAN HAS BEEN ELECTED INDIA'S NEW PRESIDENT.

The eighth President of Indian 76-year old Ramaswami Venkataraman, is a veteran of the national-liberation movement, a prominent lawyer and politician. He has held the

post of Vice-President since 1984.

Never in the history of independent India have Presidential elections been as dramatic as these that have just been held.

On behalf of the National Congress (I), Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi proposed to the opposition that a joint candidate be nominated for the post so as to place the head of state above the current disputes between the parties, and make him a national choice.

But the opposition parties rejected the idea of consensus with the National Congress (I). The leaders of the opposition invited the then President Zail Singh, to stand for re-election. They were playing on the differences between the Presi-

dent and the Prime Minister that had become more acute in recent months. The opposition parties believed that, by joining forces with the dissident National Congress members, they could get their candidate elected and then have Rajiv Gandhi dismissed by the new President from the post of Prime Minister on the grounds that he had lost support in parliament. The country was threatened from the Right.

In this difficult situation the two Communist parties took a principled stand, placing the interests of India's national unity and of preserving its progressive foreign policy above their own differences with the National Congress on social and economic issues.

They categorically rejected the candidacy of Zail Singh.

The unpredictable consequences of the crisis threatening the country were averted. A former member of the Supreme Court, Krishna Iyer, was named the opposition candidate. But he had no real chance of winning.

Local democratic circles feel that the circumstances surrounding the presidential elections have opened the way to cooperation between the National Congress (I) and the left forces in the interests of defending the political legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

PERSIAN

GULF

On the brink of an explosion

THE SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF AREA IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EXPLOSIVE.

It is reported that there are already nine U.S. naval ships in the Persian Gulf, and two aircraft carriers in the Arabian Sea, ready to provide air cover for the escorted Kuwaiti tankers that have recently begun to sail under the U.S. flag. Two such tankers have already arrived in the port of Khor-Fagan, the United Arab Emirates. They have been renamed the Bridgeton and the Gas Prince, and will be the first Kuwaiti tankers to be escorted by American ships through the Persian Gulf. The start of this escort duty has repeatedly been put off "for technical reasons".

Nor has Washington abandoned its efforts to "internationalize" its operations in the Gulf. It has been announced that British ships in the area have been given "greater freedom of action" in self-defence. A White House spokesman said that the Netherlands might also agree to send ships to the Persian Gulf should the need arise, and that Spain had expressed a desire to discuss the possible expansion of its role in the Mediterranean, so as to release the fleets of other NATO countries for duty in the Gulf.

There are reports that Britain and France could step up their military presence there. Thus, the French ship the Victor Schoelcher has arrived in Bahrain on the pretext of escorting the French container ship the Ville d'Anvers, which was attacked by Iranian gunboats.

This incident aggravated the situation in the Gulf still further and put additional strain on the already tense Franco-Iranian relations. The French Foreign Ministry asked Iran for an official explanation. Teheran, in reply, threatened to break off diplomatic relations with Paris, accusing Fran-

ce of harassing Iranian diplomats. From Paris came counter-raccusations, and France severed diplomatic relations with Iran.

The West German paper Neue Rhur-Zeitung believes that "Iran has decided to teach Paris a lesson." It speaks of the need to halt armed

attacks on third-nation ships and believes it would probably be better to use a U.N. international force for this purpose, rather than American warships.

In other words, there is talk again of internationalizing the crisis. But the world public realizes that this can only



"This'll kill the fire, sure as hell!"

Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

complicate the situation, without doing anything to avert an explosion. This realization was borne out by the U.N. Security Council resolution unanimously adopted not long ago. The resolution, the outcome of determined diplomatic efforts by all the permanent members of the Security Council over the past few weeks, calls for an end to the senseless Iran-Iraq war.

French TV called the resolution "the first result of a genuine agreement between the five great powers," but warned that Iran would probably disregard it. Nevertheless, the U.N. Security Council has taken an important step towards peace in the Persian Gulf. Now this step must be backed up by joint practical efforts, as for example, the speedy withdrawal of all vessels that do not belong to Persian Gulf states from this potentially highly explosive region.

YEVGENY KORSHUNOV

SOUTH KOREA

A palace coup

THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS MAY HAVE COME AS A SURPRISE TO MANY: PLEDGES HAVE BEEN MADE THAT PRESIDENTIAL POWERS WILL BE RESTRICTED AND PARLIAMENT GIVEN A GREATER SAY, WHILE THE FIRST GROUP OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HAS BEEN RELEASED. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE THIS YEAR.

The mass demonstrations of the past few weeks have shown that the entire population of South Korea irrespective of age and social status, is demanding changes. The need for concessions was realized not only in the White House but also in the Blue house - Chun's official residence. Im-

mediate action from the generals was also demanded by the Federation of Korean Industries and three other associations of major industrialists in the South. They warned that continued demonstrations could undermine the export-oriented economy.

Chun Doo Hwan's decision to hand over power to his successor Roh Tae Woo has been described by him and his admirers across the ocean as a democratic step. But the transfer of power from one general to another (no one elected either) has nothing to do with democracy.

Washington's position on democratization in South Korea is common knowledge. It was summed up by U.S. Ambassador to Seoul, James R. Lilley, who moved to the diplomatic service from the CIA. He told a Senate committee that he regarded "South Korea's national security as more important than democratic reforms."

The opposition is deman-

ding free and direct elections. The present electoral college is not accountable to voters, and after being worked on by the President's office simply rubberstamps decisions taken in the Blue House. The opposition believes that South Korea would be better suited by a parliamentary form of government.

The U.S. embassy is not unduly disturbed by the strengthening of the opposition: its foreign policy views differ little from those of the Blue House. At any rate, there is no question of breaking with Washington or demanding the withdrawal of American troops. The opposition parties are ready to lead the movement for the democratization of the system, but nothing more. The rebellious young, who have so far formed a united front with the opposition, are, however, much more radical. With them anti-American slogans are very much to the fore.

LEONID MLECHIN

SOVIET REPUBLICS' FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET

The foreign ministers of the Soviet Union's constituent republics met recently in Moscow for a conference to discuss ways of improving their ministries' work and increasing their contribution to the fulfilment of the foreign policy programme of the CPSU and the Soviet government in the light of the decisions adopted by the June 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The conference was addressed by Eduard Shevardnadze, who noted that the national and the constituent republics' foreign ministries worked closely together, that the national centre and the republics' infrastructure were inseparable, and that the foreign policy service of the country was a single whole.

After a penetrating analysis of the transformations carried out in the country since the April 1985 plenary meeting of the Central Committee, as well as of the Soviet state's foreign policy and the implementation of the principle of new political thinking in international affairs, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed:

"Our foreign policy's traditional objective of actively promoting the internal development of the country is assuming specific forms today. The ways and means of achieving this objective are changing. Diplomacy should now be more concerned than ever about the economic consequences of its decisions and ac-

tions, and consider the expediency of all its moves. Diplomats must keep abreast of scientific and technological innovations and promptly report on structural changes in the economy of the country to which they are accredited. Today diplomacy has to discharge ever more actively coordinating and consultative functions connected with the restructuring of our foreign policy activity.

Diplomacy will accomplish none of these tasks unless it strikes up an alliance with science - not a formal alliance but a real, equal and all-pervading one based on genuine cooperation."

Considering the activities of the constituent republics' foreign ministries, Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out that they could be assigned new functions. For instance, the realization by industrial plants of their right to transact foreign trade deals on their own and the establishment of foreign trade firms and joint ventures with foreign companies may put the republics' foreign ministries in an entirely new position. The expansion of human contacts between socialist countries, the increase in the share of external tasks in the multifarious activities of the republics is bound to make their foreign policy much more lively.

We are to transform the principles underlying our relations with adjacent states, our cooperation with them in resolving humanitarian problems, our

information and propaganda work, and are to build a new and attractive image of our country and of all of its regions. The load on the republics' foreign ministries will increase dramatically. Therefore, each republic must set its foreign ministry concrete tasks connected with the political support for the broadening of contacts, economic ones included.

Eduard Shevardnadze then dwelt on the foreign ministries' specific tasks in promoting all-round cooperation with socialist, developing and capitalist countries, on the part they have to play in maintaining cultural ties and in consular service. The reform now underway in the U.S.S.R., the greater openness of Soviet society, the activation of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, the minister said, had aroused the interest of our compatriots abroad. He stressed the importance of being attentive to them and of rendering them every assistance.

The minister stressed the importance of dealing with the problems related to the basic and advanced training of diplomatic personnel and to its rotation in a rational way, in the spirit of the decisions adopted by the January 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The conference was also addressed by foreign ministers of constituent republics.

A helping hand

An International Week of Solidarity with the struggle of the people of Cyprus for the implementation of U.N. resolutions has just been held in many countries on the initiative of the U.N., the International Committee for Solidarity with Cyprus and the World Peace Council. Our correspondent met the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cyprus to the U.S.S.R., Michael E. Sherifis.



New Times: Could you briefly review the situation in Cyprus and its origin.

M. Sherifis: The problem of Cyprus is of international significance not only because it affects neighbouring countries and the world community as a whole but, in particular, because Cyprus has become a dangerous centre of tension.

Thirteen years have passed since foreign troops invaded the island, an invasion that led to the artificial partitioning of the Republic of Cyprus into the Turkish-occupied north, and the south.

The U.N. Charter was violated, as was the resolution providing for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Turkish troops from the island. The basic principles of the existence of any state - independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity - were trampled underfoot. The landing of Turkish troops under the false pretext of restoring constitutional order brought ordinary Cypriots death, sorrow and destruction. The very existence of the Cypriot state was threatened.

That was 13 years ago, but the problem of Cyprus remains acute and unresolved. Despite the stand taken by the U.N., the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has been established in the northern part of the island. The Security Council condemned the formation of this pseudo-state in resolutions 541 of 1983, and 550 of 1984. But things went no further than condemnation - the forces of international reaction are preventing a just settlement of the problem. All our government's attempts to resolve the issue through negotiations have proved fruitless.

For centuries Turkish and Greek Cypriots lived as a single family, fighting shoulder to shoulder against invaders and colonialists. They shared their joys

and griefs, they tilled the soil together, and raised their children. They threatened no one and demanded no new territories. The island with its rich history was a common home for the people who lived on it. Now Cypriots of different ethnic origin are being set against each other, and attempts are being made to sow hatred between them.

N.T.: The partitioning of the island divided not only its population, but its economy. It upset economic ties that had developed and strengthened over many years.

M. Sherifis: The artificial division of the island has naturally had an adverse effect on its economy. 37 per cent of the territory lies in the northern part. And a large proportion of the population lives there. But after the 1974 events, 200,000 refugees fled south leaving their homes, cattle, vineyards and citrus groves. New settlements had to be established, houses built, and help made available to give the refugees a new start. About half the arable land remained in the north, including practically all of the Messaoria valley - the main grain-growing region, and Kyrenia - one of the main fruit- and especially citrus-growing area.

It was not only economic ties, but also cultural and social ties that were disrupted. Families were broken up, and children separated from their parents. I doubt if anyone - be he Greek or Turkish Cypriot - feels happy about such a state of affairs.

An increasing number of settlers from Turkey are now appearing in the north and taking over the homes abandoned by refugees. Even Turkish Cypriots are coming to realize that soon they will be turned into a virtual minority in their own country.

N.T.: On January 21, 1986, the Soviet Union proposed that an international conference on Cyprus be held....

M. Sherifis: We believe that such a conference would be invaluable in resolving the problem. Only through representative international talks can a just solution be reached. Such a conference held under U.N. auspices would bring together all the interested parties. As was indicated in the Soviet proposals, the following approaches to a settlement could be considered: the demilitarization of the island, including the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the abolition of all foreign military bases and installations. It is important that the international guarantees of Cyprus's independence should rule out any possibility of outside interference in the republic's affairs. And Cyprus's stand as a non-aligned country should be respected.

N.T.: The Soviet Union recently put forward a programme for the stabilization of the situation in the Mediterranean. It was suggested, for example, that all naval fleets, in particular those carrying nuclear weapons, should be withdrawn from the Mediterranean and all foreign military bases closed down. How were these proposals greeted in your country?

M. Sherifis: The Cyprus government has the highest opinion of the new Soviet proposals designed to eliminate confrontation in the world, stop the arms race, and abolish seats of tension. Détente should be the basis for the stabilization of the international situation.

Cypriots are trying to play their part in building an edifice of peace and stability such as can only be erected by joint effort. Cyprus has participated in the drafting of documents, designed to strengthen peaceful coexistence, for discussion at the U.N., the forums of the non-aligned movement, and the European conference on security and cooperation. Our government's aim is to secure a just and stable peace in the Mediterranean, and in the world as a whole. In that your country and the other socialist states are giving us great help.

In conclusion, I should like to express our appreciation of the support afforded by the Soviet government and the Soviet people in our struggle for the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. Our island is often compared with the open palm of a hand extended to friends. That is indeed so. We always welcome those who offer our small island peace and cooperation, and help us fight for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our island.

Interviewer: VLADIMIR KOSOVO

National reconciliation. How it works

BORIS GAN

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has decided to prolong its unilateral ceasefire for another six months. This decision is in keeping with the policy of national reconciliation of all Afghans, regardless of their ideological and political convictions. The aim of the policy is to achieve peace.

Six months ago the government proclaimed the principles of national reconciliation. They are: the establishment of a ceasefire, the abandonment of armed struggle and bloodshed in deciding on the country's present and future, fair representation in the political and economic structures, non-prosecution for previous political activities, and a nationwide amnesty.

What has changed in the situation in Afghanistan during the last six months?

Najib, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), has answered this question succinctly.

"During this period," he stated, "national reconciliation has opened up a new page in our history. Exhausted by the nine-year war, both those on our side and our opponents now see a way out of the bloody crisis."

Over the last six months, 62,000 refugees have returned home. Close to 25,000 members of counterrevolutionary armed formations have laid down their arms and stated their willingness to end the struggle against people's power. Recently 1,335 kishlaks (villages) have peacefully accepted government control.

Are these achievements significant or negligible? Here are a few figures. Over a period of seven years (i.e., up to January 1987) 37,000 refugees returned to their homes. It is believed that altogether there are close on three million refugees in other countries. In the past the government won back from the counterrevolutionaries an average of 250 kishlaks a year. At present people's power has been established in some 8,600 kishlaks, 142 districts and 45 towns, the 29 provincial capitals included. It is by far the greater part of the country's habitable territory. The counterrevolutionaries are still in control, mainly in desert and mountain areas.

In my view, the changes worked by the policy of national reconciliation have

enabled Kabul to take another bold step. Early in July the presidium of the Revolutionary Council approved a law on political parties, and ways in which they can be established and function.

The PDPA is prepared to share power

I was able to interview Gulam Muheddin Amor, Secretary of the Revolutionary Council.

"The purpose of the new law," he said, "is to help create in practice an effective coalition of all the democratic and patriotic forces in the country. Only such a coalition will help end the fratricidal war in Afghanistan, normalize the situation, and enable us to tackle urgent national problems."

Any political forces upholding patriotic positions, though differing from the PDPA on political and ideological questions, will have the right to engage in legitimate political activities. This means that these forces are keen to defend the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan, and contribute to its socio-economic progress. Every newly-formed party will, of course, pledge not to resort to arms.

Political parties will be able to publish papers and periodicals and nominate candidates for election to all bodies of state power.

The law on parties is evidence of the ruling People's Democratic Party's willingness to cooperate, within the framework of the coalition, with all forces that wish to bring peace to the country. It is prepared not only to co-operate with these forces but also to share political, state power.

Nationwide discussions of the draft constitution of the republic are underway.

What is the reaction of the opposite side and above all of the Peshawar

seven, i.e., the seven main counterrevolutionary organizations that have entrenched themselves in Pakistan? Leaders in the pay of other countries have rejected Kabul's proposal for a dialogue. They have blatantly refused to engage in the process of national reconciliation. What they actually want the PDPA to do is to hand over power rather than share it.

That is why their leaders have not responded to the call for a truce and ceasefire. As Najib pointedly put it, a truce is "necessary so that the guns can stop firing and Afghans hear each other." On the contrary, in some areas, particularly in the east and southeast, the intensity of shelling has increased two- or even three-fold. The rebels have destroyed hundreds of homes, dozens of shops and several mosques. Many have been killed or wounded. The purpose of such action is to intimidate the population, particularly in rural areas, and force the people to withdraw their support from the government's policy of reconciliation.

Acts of terrorism serve the same purpose. Thus the leaders of the local commissions for national reconciliation in the provinces of Kunduz, Nangarhar and Kandahar were murdered. Haji Mohammad Nabi, a distinguished religious leader, was shot while at prayer in a Kandahar mosque. Three Afghan passenger planes carrying peaceful civilians were shot down. About 150 people, including women and children, were killed. This compelled the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to retaliate.

Late in June specimens of weapons captured from gangs of diehards who reject national accord and reconciliation were displayed at the Chaman Exhibition Complex in Kabul. Among the exhibits were pistols, rifles, submachine guns, machine guns, recoilless guns, grenade throwers, mortars and anti-aircraft weapons. The latest anti-aircraft missiles - U.S. Stingers and British Blowpipes - were placed in the centre of the pavilion. Boxes of mortar bombs and artillery shells of various calibres are neatly stacked. There are also specimens of chemical shells.

Among the first people to visit the

exhibition of captured weapons were correspondents from forty Asian, African and Latin American countries. They attended an international conference of journalists from non-aligned states held in Kabul.

A reporter from the Mexican paper *La Jornada* told me: "This shows convincingly that the West is still arming the dushmans in an attempt to crush the Afghan revolution by force of arms and foil the policy of national reconciliation being pursued by the Afghan authorities."

Many journalists from developing countries admitted that they had not hitherto imagined the scale on which arms were being supplied to the counterrevolutionaries by the West.

Despite this, national reconciliation, albeit slowly and with difficulty, has been making headway. In Jalalabad,

Afghan government almost six months ago. Why? I put this question to the former dushman leader when I interviewed him in Dezak - his native village.

"We were among the first to respond to the call of the Revolutionary Council to end the war and engage in dialogue. We believe we did the right thing," he replied. "Only a dialogue between Afghans will help establish peace in the country. Everybody should understand this simple truth - both those who are still fighting in the mountains against the central authority and those who are supplying them with weapons and money. The sooner this happens the better it will be for Afghanistan and all Afghans. This war is unwinnable, but through discussions of controversial issues and patient talks it will be possible to resolve differences and reach a compromise. This conclusion was prompted by misfortunes, the deaths of

bluff. Several weeks ago a gang of dushmans attacked Khyfan kishlak, located about 10 kilometres from the district centre. The inhabitants of Knyfan had declared their support for the policy of national reconciliation and refused to pay tribute to the rebels. The dushmans forced their way into the village in darkness and committed outrages without interruption for about three hours. They robbed homes and killed unarmed people. That night a total of 25 people, including five women and eight children, were murdered. When frontier guards arrived, the dushmans withdrew to the mountains without resisting, herding 30 villages with them.

I met Haji Sultan Muhammad, 45, from the northern province of Baglan, several months after he and his fifteen hundred men had given up fighting.

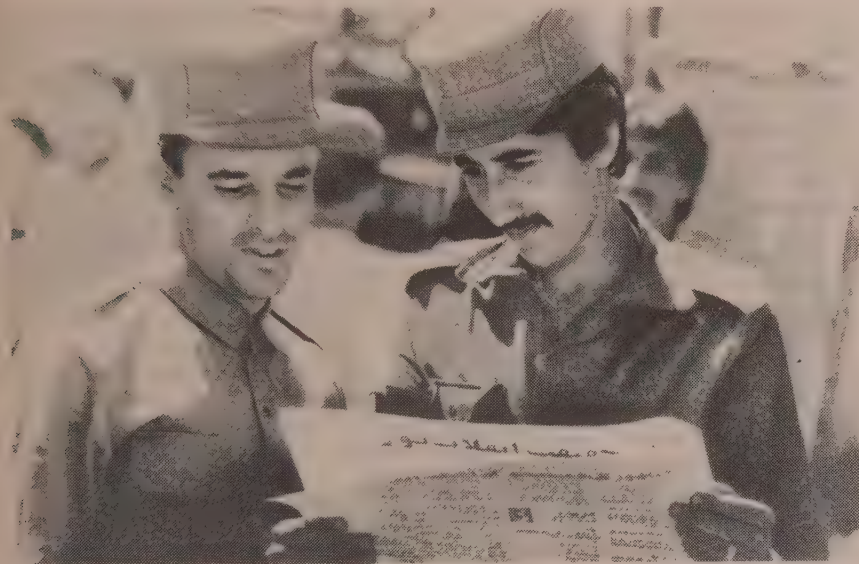
"We did this in defiance of the decision taken by the leaders of the seven Islamic parties in Peshawar not to accept reconciliation," he explained. "However, we stopped fighting because the people of the district we controlled wanted it that way. They were all tired of the endless war. We put forward certain terms, and saw that the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan sincerely wanted peace and accord on our soil. We also saw that it was Kabul's sincere intention to enlist representatives of the opposition in government administration."

The case of Haji Sultan Mohammad is significant, for he has been appointed governor of Baglan Province.

Thus, one of the aims of reconciliation - the creation of a coalition of various patriotic political forces - is being realized in practice. Coalition government authorities were first established at local level, i.e., "on the front line of the conflict." This policy is gradually gaining in strength. It is worth noting that already four provincial and 14 district government authorities are headed by former rebels. Close to 5,000 members of the opposition have been recruited to national reconciliation commissions of various levels. The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has five ministers who occupied senior positions under previous regimes.

In Afghanistan there is no reasonable alternative to national reconciliation. As ever, Mikhail Gorbachev told Najib in Moscow on July 20, the Soviet Union wants to see Afghanistan independent, sovereign and non-aligned. It is up to the Afghan people to decide what road to follow, what kind of government to have, and what development programmes to adopt. Making such decisions is their sovereign right.

Kabul, July



The Afghan press published the draft constitution of the republic. The draft is now under wide-scale discussion.

Photo Bakhtar-TASS

Mazari-Sharif, Kunduz and Herat I had a chance to meet people who have responded to the call of Kabul to end the fratricidal war.

A million for the head of...

Said Ahmad is well known to the Afghan Islamic opposition, particularly to Jamiate Islami (the Islamic Society of Afghanistan) which he belonged to. He and his two thousand men controlled Guzara District in Herat Province. However, this belongs to the past now. Said Ahmad and his men stopped fighting the

relatives, and the suffering of thousands upon thousands of our fellow countrymen."

Said Ahmad's decision to stop fighting the central government enraged the counterrevolutionary leaders. They sentenced him to death in absentia "for betraying the Islamic cause" and offered a reward of a million afghanis for his head.

Glancing at a rather large group of armed guards, the former dushman leader observed: "So we have had to take precautions."

At present Said Ahmad is a member of a commission for national reconciliation in the province of Herat. Largely due to his efforts, the situation in the province has noticeably improved. Over a period of many years, Herat was regarded as a bastion of counterrevolution.

While I was in Shindand District (120 kilometres from Herat), I saw that the threat to murder those who responded to the call for national reconciliation was no

The revolution stands firm

ALEXANDER TRUSHIN

On July 19 Nicaragua celebrated its most important national holiday. On that day, eight years ago, the Sandinist people's anti-imperialist revolution emerged victorious from its struggle with the bloodiest dictatorship in Latin America.

The jubilant Nicaraguans who then filled Managua's main square, renamed Revolution Square, would never have believed that the time had not come for them to lay down arms, and that to the 60,000 who had died in the liberation struggle, 43,000 more victims would be added over the next eight years in another, no less bitter war against U.S. imperialism.

Today direct and indirect damage from the U.S. aggression already amounts to 3,000 million dollars. The revolutionary government has no alternative but to spend up to half the national budget on strengthening the country's defences.

I remember how five years ago the first major agricultural projects were launched in Nicaragua, and work was started on social programmes. Millions of cordobas were spent on the campaign to eradicate illiteracy and improve the health service.

But at that very time the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency began feverishly to recruit mercenaries for the Somoza army, arming them and sending terrorists into Nicaragua. The newly-built schools and hospitals went up in flames. Under pressure from Washington, international financial centres drastically reduced loans and credits to Nicaragua. Hostilities in the north of the republic - the main agricultural area - seriously affected the production of coffee, the country's main source of foreign currency. And the U.S. trade embargo introduced in 1985 placed Nicaragua in a very difficult position.

In these difficult circumstances the revolutionary government had to cut back considerably on allocations for

social needs. Manpower and the main material and financial resources had to be shifted to defence. Social policy was subordinated to the survival of the revolution. A dangerous gap appeared between the revolutionary government's promises in the social sphere and its inability to honour them due to lack of funds and specialists. The social programme first came to a standstill and then began to decline.

For the sake of survival, the Sandinist authorities decided that the most important thing was to strengthen the alliance of the working class and peasantry, and pay more attention to the agricultural reform. In order to consolidate the social base of the revolution in the villages, the Sandinist National Liberation Front

Coffee harvest.

Photo by Orlando Valenzuela

(SNLF) quickly re-oriented its agrarian reform to provide the poorest peasants with land, even at the expense of the public sector and private landowners. Food supplies to the population were also adjusted in accordance with the interests of the revolution. As the state was unable to supply the entire population even with minimum quantities, priority was given to the social strata on which the revolution depended: workers, peasants, and soldiers of the Sandinist People's Army.

The situation in the health service began gradually to improve. Up to 15 per cent of the national budget is now allocated to it. Ten per cent is spent on wiping out illiteracy, building schools and training teachers.

A member of the National Directorate of the SNLF, Minister for Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform Jaime Wheelock, told me that the entire bitter struggle of the Nicaraguan people is above all a struggle for independence. "The revolution of July 19, 1979 returned to our people the right to sovereignty and political independence. That is our most cherished gain, Nicaragua had always been an oppressed and economically exploited country. We were a neo-colony. Our natural resources served the United States, which planned Nicaraguan economic development to suit itself. During World War II we supplied the U.S. war industry with rubber. Our country was a raw materials reservoir for the U.S., and its economy was rapidly deformed as a result of harsh exploitation.

"After the revolution we won economic independence and began intensifying trade and economic relations. Today we have such relations with many



countries. Trade with them is founded on the basis of reciprocal advantage, friendship, cooperation and mutual understanding, and not, as in the past, on exploitation. For the first time we have established relations with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other socialist countries. We are also developing fruitful ties with a whole group of Arab states, and with Western Europe. Great efforts are being made to strengthen contacts with other Latin American republics."

The revolutionary government takes a critical view of its own social and economic policy. "The main reasons for the current difficulties," the Nicaraguan leader went on, "should be sought in the unending U.S. military, political and economic aggression, the fall in prices of traditional Nicaraguan export goods, and the general international economic crisis. The Sandinist revolution has not yet rid itself of bureaucratism, economic errors, and bad management. Full use is not yet being made of our own resources. Effective economic incentives have not yet been worked out, and the financial mechanism is not operating properly.

At the same time the revolutionary government has taken steps to economize on petrol and other fuel. Corruption and black marketeering are being stamped out. In this the government has the support of the trade unions and the SNLF committees for defence of the revolution."

...How many times in recent years has the Reagan administration predicted an "explosion" in Nicaragua, a mass march of the Nicaraguan people against the government, and the emergence of a so-called domestic front! How many millions of dollars has the U.S.A. spent on bribing reactionary Nicaraguan politicians! In the past six years alone President Daniel Ortega said in a recent speech, the United States has spent almost 15,000 million dollars for this purpose, as well as on funding the contras and the building of a military infrastructure near Nicaragua's borders.

However, the U.S. attempts to create a united anti-Sandinist bloc inside Nicaragua made up of right-wing opposition parties, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise (SCPE) have failed. Today not a few private producers and traders who disagree with the anti-patriotic activities of the SCPE are to be found in the militia, self-defence committees. The opposition political organizations in Nicaragua operate freely. But none of them has a social base worth talking about. The future lies not with them, but with those who under the leadership of the SNLF are building and defending their genuinely democratic society, heroically fighting for the honour and independence of their country.

Managua, July

NEW TIMES

30.87

Hot summer in Newark

It all started with what is by American standards a commonplace occurrence. In the city of Newark, New Jersey, 20 minutes by car from New York, a cab driver was for no known reason arrested and beaten up by police. The driver was black and that was reason enough in itself.

The attack gave rise to a storm of indignation. Clashes of Newark's black residents with police started on July 12, 1967. The Mayor of Newark, Hugh Addonizio, allowed the police to use any methods to suppress the riots.

Within days riots had swept black ghettos in other cities in New Jersey. Then they spread to Hartford, Connecticut, and Detroit, Michigan. Turmoil was soon seething in black ghettos in 78 cities of the United States. "America's gravest domestic crisis since the Civil War a hundred years ago," one senator said bitterly. "Iron-fist tactics by soldiers and police enforced racial peace in Detroit and a dozen other United States cities, but almost an equal number of communities were plagued by violence," is how UPI summed up the results of a fortnight of fighting.

In the spring of 1967 Martin Luther King had said that a hot summer lay ahead. In 1965 and 1966 uprisings had erupted in dozens of United States cities. Blacks were demanding basic civil rights: work, and a decent place to live, not rat-infested slums. They demanded an end to racial discrimination.

A classified government report warned that dozens of American cities would see uprisings in black ghettos. Washington officials sensed the gathering storm but did little to prevent it. A programme to fight poverty remained on paper. The authorities intended to appropriate 40 million dollars over two years to wage war on rats, but the legislators laughingly refused to endorse the appropriation. Meanwhile, over two billion dollars was being spent every month on a different war, the war that was one of the sparks that set the ghettos ablaze. The word "Vietnam" was heard everywhere. We would much rather die here than in Vietnam, rebellious people were saying.

And they were dying. Twenty-five people were killed in the first five days of the fighting in Newark alone. Some three thousand people were wounded or arrested. Lyndon Johnson's administration "pacified" the ghettos by sending tanks and armoured cars into them, and spraying them with bullets. The President appeared on television on July 27 to urge people to pray for reconciliation and to enhance the drilling of troops in "riot control techniques..."

A hot summer set in 1967 in Newark, Detroit, Boston Cincinnati, and then in Memphis and Phoenix. The 1980 events in Miami are fresh in the peoples' memories. Riots erupted after the policemen who had beaten a black man to death for exceeding the speed limit on a motorcycle were acquitted by a court of justice. Twenty people were killed... Eleven members of the Move sect were burnt alive in Philadelphia, the city of "brotherly love," in 1985. More than 60 people have been killed in Philadelphia since then.

Much water has flowed under the bridges and the blood of many black Americans has been spilt since then. Riots flare up now in one area of the U.S.A., now in another. And though the rioting now is not as violent as it was 20 years ago, this does not mean that the racial problem no longer exists. To this day blacks constitute the majority of the homeless, and slum dwellers in America. The number of unemployed blacks is double that of unemployed whites. Twenty per cent of blacks in work cannot make ends meet. While the poor make up 15 per cent of America's population, the figure for blacks is 30 per cent. Meagre funds are appropriated to combat poverty, while huge sums are spent on the arms race.

True, black Americans can take any seats on a bus now, propose to white girls, and even hold important posts. But racial hatred is stronger than ever. This is the opinion of the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People Benjamin Hooks.

DMITRY POGORZHELSKY

**TAKING UP
A POINT**



Our staff writer
**ALEXANDER
BARYSHEV**
replies:

THE RAUL ALFONSIN GOVERNMENT FOR WHICH YOU SEE TO HAVE SUCH A SOFT SPOT CONTINUES TO INSIST ON ARGENTINA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER FALKLANDS. IT WILL NOT CONCEDE THE ISLANDS WERE DISCOVERED BY BRITISH SEAFARERS, THAT THEIR POPULATION IS MADE UP OF BRITISH CROWN SUBJECTS, OR THAT THE METHOD ARGENTINA RESORTED TO IN 1982 TO APPROPRIATE THE FALKLANDS-TROOP LANDING-WAS AN OBVIOUS VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE.

McCoy
London

Decolonization that the Falklands (Malvinas) be included on the list of territories eventually to be decolonized.

"Even the longest negotiations are better than the shortest of wars," wrote Pravda during the Falklands crisis, in explanation of the Soviet Union's support for a peaceful settlement of the British-Argentine conflict. Nonetheless, the decision of the Argentinians, who had run out of political patience, to resort to military action was understandable. It is

Those out to prove that the Falklands (Malvinas) were discovered by the English often support their case by references to the expedition led by Captain John Strong. On January 27, 1690, his ship the *Welfare* was caught in a severe storm and would have gone under had the Captain not glimpsed an unknown shore on the horizon. Believing that he had discovered a new land, John Strong named the islands - already pronounced a Spanish possession - after

Let us sort things out

The problem raised above is extremely complex from the historical and political, not to mention the legal, angle. Unfortunately, it is not only in Britain that the events of April-May, 1982 are mistakenly believed to have been triggered off by the landing of Argentine troops on the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. Letters voicing doubts as to the legality of the Argentine action have come from a number of our Soviet readers, too. "After all, which country has more right to the archipelago?" Anton Vasilyev of Moscow asks. Some even squarely deny Argentina the right to the islands.

Rather than attempt an exhaustive analysis of the issue, I shall confine myself to stating my opinion. To begin with, I do not regard Argentina as the aggressor, and I disagree with the wording of Comrade Vasilyev's question ("Who has more right?"). It is true that the Argentinians were the first to use armed force in April, 1982. But they did so only after London had stubbornly refused over a period of 17 years even to discuss the handover of the Malvinas - despite the United Nations' proclamation on decolonization and its numerous resolutions calling on Britain to negotiate the issue, and regardless of the decision adopted by U.N. Special Committee on

worth noting that the landing (Operation Rosario) was planned and carried out in such a way as to avoid loss of life. There were no casualties on the British side. The blame for the blood shed later on by Argentinian and British victims alike of the colonialist war unleashed by London goes wholly to the Tory cabinet and its allies in NATO.

Now let us consider the background to the conflict. I am certain that an objective appraisal of the relevant facts will suggest the conclusion that the Argentine landing was a reaction to an injustice done to it in the past, namely, its ejection by force from the archipelago by the British in the last century. Mr McCoy argues that the fact of "British seafarers" having discovered the archipelago automatically makes it British property. But his premise is in itself erroneous. According to authentic documentary evidence the Falklands (Malvinas) were first sighted on April 7, 1504, by the famous Florentine seafarer Amerigo Vespucci, who was in the service of the Spanish king. In 1520, the archipelago was visited by the Portuguese seafarer Ferdinand Magellan. Esteban Gomez, a member of his expedition, is often referred to as the discoverer of the islands.

Lord Falkland, the then British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Foreign Office archives contain documents that official London pretends to have forgotten. I refer to an agreement with Spain dated May 22, 1774, under which the British left the archipelago, and the Treaty of Friendship, Trade and Navigation signed by Britain and Argentina in 1825, whereby the disputed islands were recognized as part of Argentina.

The Falklands (Malvinas) issue - a territorial dispute more than 150 years old - emerged in January, 1833 when Captain John Onslaw of the British corvette *Cleo* landed his marines on the islands and raised the Union Jack there. The Argentinian commandant and governor, who refused to surrender the islands to the invaders, were arrested, and the defenceless Argentinian population was driven out.

In 1982, Britain again attacked the islands. Back in 1974, the U.N. General Assembly had defined such acts as constituting an aggression, i.e. a transgression of international law that the Tory cabinet did not stop short of committing in order to hold onto its colonial possessions. This is why London

even hear of returning the (Malvinas) to Argentine nationality. This must be done, proceeding from the principle of territorial integrity. Argentina's archipelago are based on international legal success - won its independence in a war state named afterwards inherited from Spain not only territory, but all the islands and the sea as well.

Mr McCoy argues that the Falklands (Malvinas) is subjects of the British Crown (I have already explained). Britain has also held forth at this aspect of the problem, in respect for the right to self-determination of the islanders" (of whom there were 1,800, mostly employed by the Falkland Islands Company). All the archipelago's pastures are abundantly clear that it is violating this principle in order to justify its claims to the territory. Characteristically, the U.N. has condemned this population's right to self-determination in any form while insisting that the rights of those of British descent be taken into account).

These interests are concerning Argentina has repeatedly voiced its desire to observe them, and the people of British descent assistance and aid in the fields of education and agriculture (this is recorded in British-Argentine agreements). The British population has been guaranteed full Argentinean citizenship. Nonetheless for all its eloquent protest at the need to protect the rights, denies them full citizenship. By a 1981 law, the Falkland archipelago were deprived of rights.

I'd like to draw a comparison between the current positions of Argentina and London. While the British of Argentina, understanding of its sovereignty being denied, is still insisting on its position, no matter how difficult they are, that the principles of justice, respect for the interests of the people are observed, the Thatcher government has recently declared the issue to be negotiable. Why? Is it, perhaps, because the Falklands (Malvinas) are being converted into a strategic asset (not without the White Paper) and the islands have been taken for use in furthering the British's aggressive ends?

What's on our minds

Letters from Soviet readers on various aspects of the reform now under way in our country continue to pour into the New Times editorial office. Here are some of them.

The Chernobyl tragedy... the M/S Admiral Nakhimov disaster... the train collision near Krivoi Rog... the explosion at a Donbas coalmine... the year 1986 was remarkable for the number of tragedies and disasters it witnessed. They were due, no doubt, to mismanagement and laxity, which had assumed alarming proportions in our economy. But what I'd like to point to here is the fact that such accidents are now reported by our media without inhibition. This is absolutely as it should be. We're still beset by a multitude of petty troubles that often pass unnoticed. On a national scale, however, they add up to heavy losses in money and even lives.

Another important point to make is that if people get away with small offences, they lose the sense of responsibility and, indeed, become utterly careless. Now that we are engaged in reconstruction such laxity cannot be tolerated. Resolute measures must be taken to promote a more conscientious attitude to work and curtail any breaches of discipline and the law. The sooner we do so, the earlier it will be for us to make further progress.

A. ROGOCHI,
Dnepropetrovsk

Today everyone is in favour of the reform, especially in the construction industry, although I don't quite see how we are to go about changing over to the new style and system of

work. I've got to do something, I tell myself every day, but where do I start? The papers and magazines reiterate that we should start the reform by reforming ourselves. Well, I am all for it, just as you are. Moreover, on several occasions I have tackled jobs which, it seemed to me, I alone could cope with - and then... My work record provides ample evidence of my long-standing resistance to bureaucratic management: reprimands, reproofs, warnings, let alone "minor" dressing-downs at briefings and conferences. Now I am no longer 30 or 40, but 50 if I am a day, and not as strong as I used to be. Am I to start fighting all over again? In my heart of hearts I am all for the reform - but what if I have now myself developed into an "active bureaucratic conservative"?

Y. TYURYAKIN,
Tutayev, Yaroslavl region

The restructuring of the economy, the unfettering of enterprises and their work collectives, and the campaign to improve the quality of our products deserve every praise.... I still think, though, that the most important thing is mental restructuring and the promotion of openness and democracy. We must learn to tell the truth about the past, the present, and the future.

Moreover, I think it's high time we restructured our news media. Newsmen - both staff and free-lance contributors - ought to be given a freer hand in covering the new processes at work in the country and in exposing the many sores that have come to a head over the years.

P. BASORAB,
Donetsk

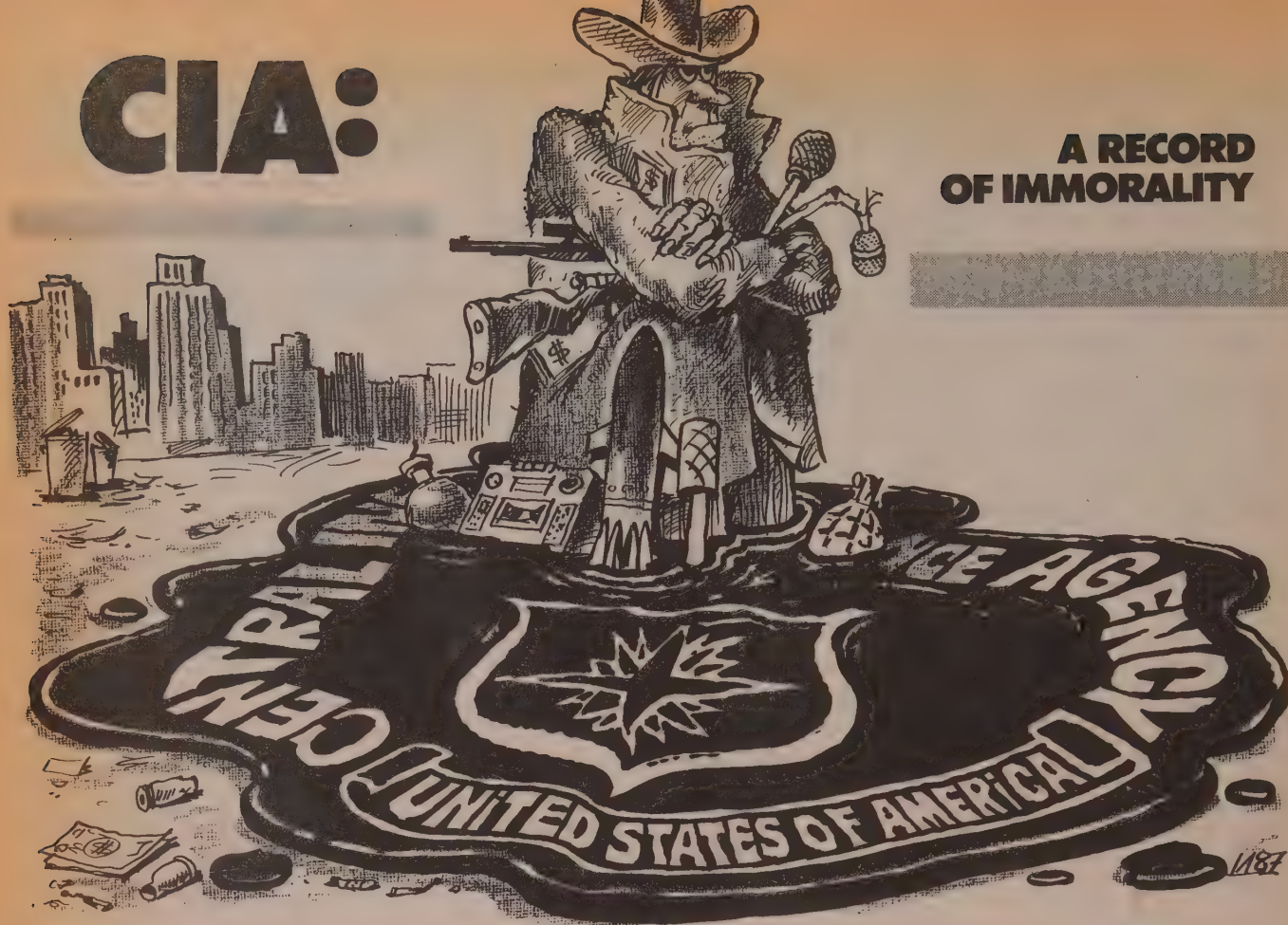


A bureaucrat's dream.

Cartoon by I. Smirnov

CIA:

A RECORD OF IMMORALITY



The United States Central Intelligence Agency is celebrating a major anniversary - it is 40 years old. On September 20, 1945, President Truman dissolved the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) which had been responsible for intelligence operations during the second world war, and after a comparatively short interval - in July, 1947 - set up the CIA.

The CIA was designed not only as a centre for the collection of information about "the enemy," but as the centre coordinating and organising subversive activities against the U.S.S.R. and the socialist world.

A veteran of both secret services - the OSS and CIA, Harry A. Rositzke, wrote: In the spring of 1948 the White House believed that war with the Soviet Union was just around the corner. Those working in the special operations department of the CIA had no doubts about this. The Soviet Union was the enemy, and the Soviet target was our mission....

Hostilities were to be preceded by a psychological war. The National Security Council (to which the CIA was subordinated) in its directives of December 14, 1947, made the CIA responsible for waging the psychological war. That was the situation in which "the company" as American intelligence agents called the Agency, began its operations.

The collection of information traditional for intelligence services did not absorb more than a tenth of the CIA's funds and efforts. The lion's share was spent on direct subversive activities - primarily against the U.S.S.R. and its allies. The attempted putsch in Berlin in June, 1953, was a typical example of this main aspect of CIA activities. Between 1961 and 1976 alone the CIA carried out about 900 major covert operations against politicians and entire governments. Langley's role, to be more exact, was that of the armed hand of the President of the United States.

"Executive actions"

In September, 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower received a secret report setting out the theoretical foundations for the CIA's secret operations: "as long as it remains national policy, another important requirement is an aggressive covert psychological, political and para-

military organization more effective, more unique, and if necessary, more ruthless than that employed by the enemy.... There are no rules in such a game. Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply."

The President did not object. And so in the early sixties the CIA set up a special division for organizing and carrying out assassinations - ZR/Rifle. Numerous institutes and firms started inventing for the CIA cigarettes that exploded, ointments that killed drivers when they touched the wheel of a car on which it had been smeared, and miniature bombs.... The CIA made active use of this arsenal in its 24 attempts (1) to assassinate Fidel Castro. In 1961 the CIA's assassination squad was headed by William Harvey. His principal scientific adviser was the ecologist Sidney Gottlieb. He devised methods of killing people that left no trace, as well as a range of drugs that made it possible to control the human mind.

Americans first learned of the CIA experiments only in the mid-seventies, when the U.S. Senate set up the Church Committee to investigate the illegal activities of the CIA. The Committee's conclusions were sufficiently categorical: the CIA was indeed involved in political assassinations, covering them up with such terms as "damage to the health" or "executive action." The testimony of the Special Assistant to the Director of the CIA, Richard Bissell, was quoted. He had

said that an "executive action" covered a very wide range of measures designed to "reduce to nil the abilities" of foreign leaders... Murder, he admitted, was the last resort. He also said that it was the White House, in other words the President of the U.S.A., that had asked the CIA to set up a permanently operative assassination squad.

Gottlieb too had to appear before the Senate Committee. He was able to recall only one "executive action" and that had been a failure. It had been planned to strip an Iraqi colonel of his abilities, and to this end a handkerchief was sent to him. It had been impregnated in a solution that would have made him physically powerless. He never received the handkerchief, but the colonel - whose name neither Gottlieb nor other witnesses could recall - was shot dead in Baghdad without - so it was claimed - the participation of the CIA....

The colonel, or to be more precise he was a general, was Abdel Karim el Kassem. According to the French journalist Claude Julien, the head of the Iraqi government had been overthrown and killed in February, 1963 by General Aref with the help of the CIA.

The liquidation of Patrice Lumumba was prepared in much the same way. Gottlieb brought to the CIA resident in Leopoldville three solutions that caused leprosy and brucellosis. But once again the poisons proved unnecessary. Lumumba had been done to death by CIA mercenaries.

The Church Committee established that on CIA instructions experiments had been conducted on live people. This was done in laboratories in Canada, Japan and the Philippines. In the United States itself the experiments were conducted on prisoners, people in homes for the aged, drug addicts and hippies.

"The company's" results

After visiting CIA headquarters, President Reagan praised the agency for following "the principles used by leading American corporations."

Typical in the appointment of personnel to the agency is the principle of "revolving doors," when leaders of the biggest corporations and companies with no problems of psychological incompatibility move to the most senior posts at Langley. John McCone who sought the overthrow of Allende in Chile is regarded as a classic example both in his capacity as an ITT executive and as Director of the CIA. From the legal side of big business, William Colby and William Casey moved to the CIA. But what is more important is that the CIA corporation, having peppered its subsidiaries throughout the world, represents America's interests in foreign policy, continuing it - to adapt Karl Clausewitz -

PHILIP AGEE:

I WOULD NEVER WORK FOR THE CIA

We met with Philip Agee on the 17th floor of a skyscraper in one of the busiest parts of New York - the intersection of Broadway and 57th West Street. The advertising firm Phantom Communications, which services Agee used to distribute his book "On the Run," has its office there. Agee has been back in his country for over a week, after having been denied entry for 16 years. Officially he is not allowed to enter the United States as the State Department cancelled his American passport in 1979. That is why Agee used a "detour," and crossed the Canadian-American border where documents are seldom asked for.

My friends and lawyers told me not to think of returning while Reagan is in power. Reagan, Meese and the rest are so vengeful that they will do everything just to put you behind bars, said Agee. Formal grounds for this continue to exist since the statute of limitations does not apply to the supplement of the Espionage Act which covers my "case."

...In 1975, seven years after leaving the CIA, Agee published his book "Inside the Company: CIA Diary." It proved a bombshell. He tore the shroud of secrecy off many of the CIA's covert subversive operations in Latin America, where he had worked on a "company" assignment, and in other parts of the world. Agee at once became the CIA's enemy No.1. A veritable hunt was mounted against him, he was arrested, expelled first from one country, then another, and threatened.... The events of this grim period in Agee's life form the basis of his new book. And now he is back in the United States.

I wanted to prove to myself that I can return without fear to my own country and take part in political debates on CIA overseas operations and especially its role in Reagan's terrorist war against Nicaragua, he said.

I think there is not that much difference between the CIA of 1947 and now, Agee went on. The Agency is better equipped technically but the aims and methods have remained the same as forty years ago: to sustain and strengthen the existing power structure in the United States and abroad - in allied countries and in a number of developing states - by encouraging political repression and carrying out paramilitary operations.

During these forty years the CIA has had its successes. For instance in Chile. But in terms of history they all are short-lived. Despite the cruel repressions by Pinochet's military-fascist regime, which is supported by America, a new generation of socialists and revolutionaries is forming there. And in the other countries where the CIA had "successes," Indonesia, the Philippines and South Korea, the popular movement has always revived. It is my opinion that in general such attempts to reverse history end in failure. This happened in Playa Giron and in the Bay of Pigs, and is now happening in Nicaragua....

What would I do if I had a chance to start in life again? One thing I know for sure - I would never work for the CIA.

VLADIMIR KIKILO

New York

by secret criminal methods. What are the results of this giant Langley-based corporation's forty years of operation?

The CIA script for setting up a regime that suited the United States in a given country, was first tested in Iran in 1953. A group of CIA agents led by Kermit Roosevelt organized the overthrow of the lawful government of Mohammed Mossadegh.

In Vietnam the CIA financed Operation Phoenix. Future CIA Director William Colby combined his religious beliefs with fastidiousness in carrying the operation through. Each of its participants was paid a reward for every Vietnamese killed. In general, the CIA regarded the war in Vietnam as its own "game"; it placed Ngo Dinh Diem at the head of the puppet government, and then later got rid of him and installed another puppet....

In 1973 Operation Centaur, aimed at the overthrow of Allende, was brought

to a successful conclusion. It cost the CIA more than 6.5 million dollars.

After the coup in Chile, Santiago became the headquarters of the Condor, the organization set up by the CIA to coordinate the actions of the political police in Latin American dictatorships. The Condor's third section dealt with the removal of persons whose views did not suit the United States.

In the postwar years the CIA's mighty apparatus was mobilized to establish a cordon of right-wing regimes in southern Europe and suppress the strong left-wing movement in the region. By 1951 the CIA residency in Athens, headed by Thomas Karamessinas, who later became a CIA Deputy Director (he took part in the Chilean Centaur Operation) had 1,200 agents. They included the future dictator Papadopoulos, Pattakos and Ladas. In April 1967 Operation Prometheus worked, and the "Black Colonels" came to power.

So then Italy came under fire. Once the democratic forces in that country were suppressed, the whole Mediterranean, where the American Sixth Fleet was based, would be surrounded by a string of pro-American regimes.

The attempts to undermine the state in Italy, an ally of the U.S.A., were conducted along different lines. The strike force in preparing a series of conspiracies was the Masonic Lodge of Licio Gelli, Propaganda-2.

Decline and resurgence

It seemed that the CIA operations were precise and well-calculated, and ensured America an advantageous position in different countries and regions. But having overthrown Mossadegh in Iran, the U.S.A.'s success was short-lived.

The huge CIA residency, which in effect ran the Shah's secret police SAVAC, proved unable to prevent the Shah's downfall in 1979; this led to serious political difficulties for the White House, specifically the seizing of hostages... Nor did Operation Phoenix in Vietnam, unsurpassed in its cruelty, help the U.S. avoid defeat. The Black Colonels in Greece were toppled, and in rapid succession the dictatorships in Spain and Portugal on which Washington had counted disappeared. The "strategy of tension" in Italy blew up into a scandal after which the respected magistre Gelli was forced to flee the country and his colleagues were exposed. The influence of the extreme right had been greatly weakened.

The Chilean dictator Pinochet remains in power. But can this be regarded as a victory for the CIA? That is not the view held by the former CIA man Philip Agee (see interview).

If the CIA's goal had been to organize a permanent counterrevolution along all meridians, it has failed in its task. This was also reflected in the personal failure of many of its leaders (the deputy director of the CIA for covert operations Frank Wisner shot himself after the collapse of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in Hungary that he had helped to organize), and in the decline of the CIA's role in the seventies. During the Carter presidency, CIA Director Admiral Turner cut back staff.

It was believed that the new President Ronald Reagan would dot all the 'i's and cross the 't's. And he did. In December 1981 the President signed decree No. 12333, defining CIA operations in the more criminal fields: experiments on people (Sidney Gottlieb's experiments) and assassinations.

Did he ban the use of human guinea pigs? On the contrary, he legalized it. The only stipulation was that the experiments be conducted in accordance with Health and Social Welfare Department regulations.

The next section of the Presidential decree deals with a formal hypocritical ban on direct participation - that is, open involvement on the part of CIA agents in killings. But such actions are classified as covert operations expressly to avoid having to make them public. The number of such covert operations in Reagan's presidency has increased at least five-fold. It sounds absurd to describe as covert operations the open victimisation of Grenada, the mining of the territorial waters and bombing of Nicaragua, or the military operations of Somoza bandits under the leadership of CIA instructors. As for banning killings, the instructions for freedom fighters printed by the CIA urged them to "neutralize" (read - to kill. - L.Z.) targets carefully selected in advance. They are recommended to equip themselves with weapons (knives, razor blades, chains and clubs) and go to mass meetings, keeping well behind those trusting people directly involved, so as to provoke clashes and kill the trusting in order to present them as martyrs, and then provoke the deceived crowd to rebel....

"The men from the CIA," wrote the French journalists Alain Guérin and Jacques Varin, "are not a thing of the past. The need for their services, the need for such an organization will remain.... The days of the CIA have not ended as the cold war recedes into the past. On the contrary, their field of activities has probably widened." One reason for this, according to the West German magazine Der Spiegel, is "the uncurbed passion of American presidents to conceal from Congress, the law and the public their policy pursued by means of trickery and manoeuvres, secret diplomacy, and, when necessary, by illegal missions."

LOLLY ZAMOISKY

RALPH McGEEHEE:

"DIRTY TRICKS" IN THE PHILIPPINES

A secret decision to intensify "covert and psychological actions to strengthen the orientation of ... the Philippines towards the free world" was adopted at a meeting of the National Security Council in Washington thirty-three years ago. The American historian Stephen R. Shalom recently came into possession of documents showing how exactly the CIA network operated there (he used them in his book "The United States and the Philippines. A Study of Neocolonialism").

The outstanding Filipino nationalist leader, Claro M. Recto, was openly hated by Washington for his statements against American policy. In 1954 the CIA station chief in Manila and the U.S. ambassador met to discuss how best to organize Claro Recto's assassination. They decided finally on a "phial of poison." But for some reason the implementation of the plan was put off and the phial was "thrown into the waters of Manila Bay." Yet the Americans continued to hound Claro Recto.

And how does American intelligence operate in the Philippines today? Ralph McGeehee, a former Langley staffer who served with the "company" from 1952 to 1973, recently visited this country. In Indochina he was a liaison officer between the American CIA and the Saigon regime's police, and later took part in Operation Phoenix.

McGeehee travelled to Luzon, Cebu, Mindanao and Negros islands. He was interested in the anti-communist formations of religious fanatics who have become the armed hand of the extreme right-wing reactionaries. This American is deeply convinced that these formations owe their existence to the CIA.

Referring to "sources in Washington," McGeehee stated that at present in the Philippines 115 CIA career officers were implementing in a "two-year counter-insurgency programme to protect U.S. interests, particularly the two military bases (Subic Bay and Clark Field)." Ten million dollars have been allocated to this programme. According to the former intelligence agent, the operations against the rebels drawn up by CIA agents look like Operation Phoenix. Just as in Vietnam, the CIA intends to "protect U.S. interests" by using members of the local population as proxies, and is for this purpose forming armed bands of religious fanatics.

Ralph McGeehee noted that the CIA was trying to generate anti-communist feeling in the country and resorting to "dirty tricks." For instance, he went on, it distributes and imposes on the mass media news and materials with an anti-Soviet content. McGeehee is convinced that the articles in some Philippine newspapers about the "suspicious activities" of Soviet ships in Philippine waters and the expansion of the Soviet embassy are the doing of the CIA.

...The CIA's operations have assumed such proportions as to arouse the concern of President Corazon Aquino and her cabinet. Deputy Foreign Minister José Ingles has stated that the government has been compelled to investigate CIA activities in the Philippines.

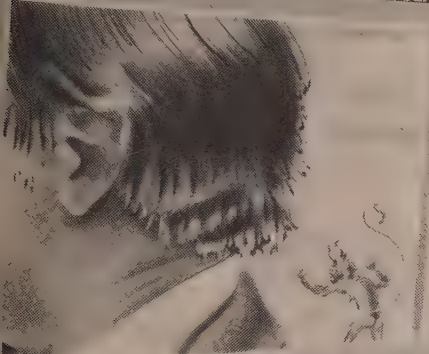
LEONID KUZNETSOV

Manila

ötlet87



2V
VERSENY ÉS VALLALKOZÁS
1987 III. ÉVFOLYAM 1. SZÁM
ÁRA: 55 Ft
NEKOSZ-KARRIER
A VEZETŐK TULHORDÁSA
A VÁGY AUTÓBUSZA



AKadémiai közgyűlés
Dél-afrikai gazdaság
A Citibank első éve
Az IBM új PC-családja
Kamionok versenyben
HETI VILÁGGAZDASÁG
hvg

IPARPOLITIKAI KONCEPCIO
A KÖVETKEZŐ
MENET

"Will their grandchildren see the planet?" the youth weekly Otlet asks. In these issues, the journal for enterprise managers highlights the theme of business ethics, and the World Economics Weekly covers discussions over Hungary's new industrial policy.

Economic problems as mirrored in Hungarian press

Knowledge is strength

FELIX GORYUNOV

I once thought only popular mass-circulation periodicals could become best sellers, as our Moscow News and Ogonyok have done recently. So the idea of an economic journal being the most sought after publication came as a surprise to me.

"We have lost several thousand regular readers to the World Economics Weekly over the past few years," complained Jozsef Palfy, editor-in-chief of the authoritative Hungarian political weekly Magyarország, who had invited me to Budapest. "The number of its subscribers has already topped 140,000. This is quite a circulation for a small country like Hungary...."

The popularity of the World Economics Weekly (known as HVG in Hungary for short) was even more of a mystery to me after I finally managed to find a copy on a Budapest newsstand. Its pale green cover made it inconspicuous in the vivid display of more colourful magazines. Its subject matter proved unexceptional either.

Like our own, Hungarian national papers are concentrating on the country's new and complex problems. Besides specialized journals, these problems are dealt with by the weekly Figyelo (Observer). The magazine Otlet (Idea) is intended mainly for young readers: it introduces them to new developments in economics, science and technology, and to the fundamentals of computer programming, broadens their mental outlook and offers high school students career guidance. Factory managers can draw a wealth of information about economics, the organization of modern production and marketing from the magazine Verseny és vállalkozás (Competition and Enterprise). Planning and finance experts, and foreign trade officials also have journals in their own fields. Besides general economic magazines (the HVG among them), the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce issues about twenty business publications containing scientific, technical, economic and commercial information of importance to experts in various areas.

How has the HVG managed to go one up on other economic, and even political magazines? As this question was initially of strictly professional interest to me, I asked Jozsef Palfy to introduce me to the editor-in-chief of Magyarország's main competitor. However, when I met Richard Hirschler, deputy editor-in-chief of the World Economics weekly, we did more than just talk shop. We concentrated on an extremely topical subject: the role of the press in resolving the economic and social problems confronting socialist countries.

Richard Hirschler. Some people in our profession still think economic matters are of little interest to the general public, and all it wants is sensation and entertainment. We've learned from experience that this is not so. The state of affairs in the economy is of immediate concern to everyone - and constitutes a major political factor as well. The general public's interest in "dull" economic problems is due to the fact that the public has changed. The Hungarian reader today is different from what he was in the sixties or even in the seventies; he wants authentic information on what is happening in the world economy, and how changes in it may affect Hungary and him personally as a result.

As for the secrets of our success, there are several. First of all, we treat the reader as an intellectual equal. We give him the facts and leave it to him to draw the conclusions. And we are careful to avoid being didactic or trying to impose our opinions. In controversial cases we give two different views on the subject.

Second, we try to set out complex economic problems at a popular level, in language accessible not only to a college-educated reader but also, say, to a cabdriver or a peasant. However, we intend our magazine to be read chiefly by students, young workers and engineers. A recent study has revealed that we have 300,000 readers over and above our 140,000 subscribers.

Another secret is that all our information is up-to-date. Sometimes our responses are even quicker than those of the daily papers.

F.G. Being objective and up-to-date is good, of course, but a party journalist is supposed to look at things from a certain position, and an active position at that. It is not enough to report an event, it is necessary to assess it, relate it to other facts, and shed light on current trends in world economy, science and technology. If this or that trend calls for a revision of domestic economic and social policy, public attention should be drawn to this, especially when the conclusions to be arrived at are not all that obvious.

R.H. That the magazine is called *World Economics Weekly* does not mean that we ignore Hungarian problems. We certainly discuss our domestic problems, perhaps even too critically, some comrades think. One school of thought even maintains that our journalists have been granted a special right to criticize. Nonsense! It is simply that our staff writers are competent people who take our problems seriously and are not afraid to discuss any issues, however sensitive, our readers bring up.

For example, we recently published a letter suggesting that in taxing private incomes (a draft new reform is now under discussion at Party and public organizations) the number of children in the family should be taken into account. Some readers are calling for an end to what they call the "polarization of private incomes." The Party wants the reform to reverse this trend.

Inflation has become an acute problem for many sections of the population. At a preliminary estimate, the cost of living is to rise some ten per cent this year. Our 2.5 million pensioners (i.e., a quarter of the country's population) will have it the hardest. Therefore the Party has suggested that the reform be accompanied by an improvement in the pensioning system. Discussions of the proposed reform of this system have drawn letters from older people saying that society must repay its debt to those who made conscious material sacrifices in the difficult early years of building socialism in Hungary.

All these social problems, posed by experience, have always been hard to resolve. They are especially difficult to deal with now that funds for increasing capital investment and expanding social programmes are short. Hungary is going to have to adapt to a new situation in the world economy, and modernize its industrial plant. Naturally, our magazine gives considerable attention to the problems entailed by restructuring industry. We have enlisted prominent

economists in the discussion of these problems.

F.G. As far as I know, this will not be a restructuring of the economic management mechanism as is the case in the Soviet Union. This kind of economic reform was carried out in Hungary in the late sixties. So why has the problem of adapting the country to a new economic situation assumed such urgency today?

R.H. There are many reasons for that, but I would identify three in particular. The first, which is beyond our control, is the deterioration of the situation on the world capitalist market. Demand for and prices of traditional Hungarian export items, especially farm produce, are falling. This has detracted from our export earnings.

The other two reasons are of a domestic nature. We have delayed the restructuring of our industry for too long. Although the economic reforms have made our enterprises more self-reliant, the latter have not been in a hurry to modernize their plant and keep up with scientific and technological progress. I would describe this as complacency. And the third reason is, to my mind, that the economic reform has not been followed by what the Soviet press now refers to as the "democratization of production relations."

F.G. We also call this the human factor. It has a special and, I'd even say, indispensable role to play in socio-economic reconstruction. Our national papers are now doing much to help fully exploit it. I must admit, though, that we have still to catch up with you in the amount and quality of economic information relevant to reform.

The dearth of businesslike commercial information tells on our foreign trade links as well. I had a talk at the Foreign Trade Ministry yesterday during which Hungarian comrades justly reproached Soviet exporters with delaying information on Soviet technological advances. Now that direct contacts are being established between the CMEA countries' industrial plants, knowledge of the partners' scientific, technological and production potential assumes special importance.

R.H. I can't say that the information infrastructure of our economy is up to modern standards. So far we have made insufficient use of computer technology and telecommunications. As for the printed media of economic and business information, popular periodicals in particular, we have more than enough of them.

Whether they are of great practical use is something else again. Far from all

economic managers are prepared to use the up-to-the-minute economic information they convey. It is much easier and much less troublesome to work in the old way. The retarding force of complacency I've mentioned comes into play here. This human, or rather personnel, factor is still playing a negative role. Therefore one of our society's top priorities is to encourage enterprising young people capable of promptly taking up the new ideas emerging in all spheres - scientific, production, and social - and putting them to practical use.

F.G. Proceeding from the axiom that knowledge is strength, I hope that the changeover from administrative to economic methods of management will enable us to avoid this problem. A personnel policy of electing managers at all levels, in an atmosphere of openness, with the candidates' business proficiency being the chief criterion to go by, is the earnest of that.

R.H. Incidentally, your word "glasnost" (openness) is now understood by most Hungarians without translation. Socialist society needs openness badly. Under socialism, economic efficiency is not an end in itself but a means of attaining high welfare and cultural standards. Achieving this is no easy matter because our chief principle is social justice. At the same time one can't fail to see that in a socialist society there also exist different social strata and groups whose interests do not exactly coincide and even at times clash. Hence the task of taking these interests into account and combining them flexibly.

F.G. This is the most important mission of the Party press. We journalists must constantly promote social accord on various outstanding issues.

R.H. And be critical of our own shortcomings. Here is the latest example. Our economists recently conducted a public opinion poll revealing that many people consider the country's economy to be in a better way than they are and therefore see no reason why they should make sacrifices for the sake of economic stability. Some respondents realize that the country's economic position is deteriorating but do not know why, and, consequently, think themselves unable to change anything on their own. Such an attitude breeds social apathy.

For journalists working in the sphere of economic information, the results of the poll came as an alarm signal. They showed that we haven't yet learned to mobilize the public, and get the people actively involved in tackling the economic and social problems facing the country.

A SACRED CAUSE

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

More about Bridges for Peace from New Times special correspondent

The organization under whose auspices we went to New Jersey describes itself thus:

"U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace is a coalition of over 50 church, civic, peace and educational groups working to build better understanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Underlying this goal is the assumption that in this way the threat of nuclear war will be reduced; furthermore, human, financial and material resources now devoted to the arms race can be freed to meet the pressing needs of global development."

Divide or bridge?

That characterization is essentially correct. It might perhaps be in place only to point out that in English the word "coalition" has a somewhat more modest connotation than in Russian. In the given case it stands for groups functioning within the limits of one or another county or city. What kind of groups? The organizers of our trip, for instance, were the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, the New Jersey SANE,* Essex County Office on Peace, Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey, Somerset Hills Fellowship of Churches, Bergen County SANE, Bergen County Freeze Campaign, Passaic County Freeze, Southern New Jersey Conference of the United Methodist Church, and the Union Congregational Church of Montclair.

On the Soviet side the participants were the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists of the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies.

Like all self-respecting American undertakings, Bridges for Peace puts out publicity booklets and leaflets explaining its aims and objectives. Something of a credo of the organization is set forth in the following three statements by the 80-year-old George Kennan, a recognized authority on American-Soviet relations:

"...I find the view of the Soviet Union that prevails today in large portions of our governmental and journalistic establishments so extreme, so subjective, so far removed from what any sober scrutiny of external reality would reveal, that it is not only ineffective but dangerous as a guide to political action."

And further: "What is needed on our part is not an effort to prove our own virtue by dramatizing Soviet iniquities, but rather a serious effort to study Soviet society in all its complexity and to form realistic, sophisticated judgements about the nature and dimensions of the problem it presents for us. If we do this, there is no reason to suppose that the conflicts of interest that divide these two great countries, so different in geography, in history, and in tradition, should lead to the sort of disastrous climax that modern weapons, most tragically, now make possible."

And lastly: "For all their historical and ideological differences, these two peoples - the Russians and the Americans - complement each other; they need each other; they can enrich each other; together, granted the requisite insight and restraint, they can do more than any other two powers to assure world peace."

Soviet-American relations are a complex construction to which talented builders and ingenious demolition experts, and simply saboteurs, have applied themselves with equal zeal at different times. The entire long life of the diplomat and political thinker George Kennan has been associated with this construction which serves at once as the dividing line and the bridge between the two halves of modern civilization. His conclusions, interesting in themselves, are important for me in the given instance because, as is emphasized in



"Want to see what a computer can do?" we were asked at a Princeton high school. "Anything on earth. It can even reproduce the logo for your organization."

The computer dutifully displayed on its screen the phrase "Bridges for Peace" and the appropriate symbol.

a Bridges for Peace leaflet, these are "the key themes of U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace concern and work."

To find points of contact, areas of mutual interest, fields for joint activity for peace. But above all to see for oneself and to understand. At the basic, fundamental person-to-person level.

Two lessons

Our first meeting in a school was a deeply moving experience for me. I am by no means accustomed to being met by a choir of children mustered in a school hall. As soon as we entered it broke into the clear, pure strains of a familiar Russian song - all in perfect Russian. And when the song ended, one of the singers piped up: "Now, please, tell us what the song is about." That they were to have Russian visitors they had learned only five days earlier and had been in such haste to give a proper reception to these rare visitors that, of course, they had had no time to learn the meaning of the words.

While I am on the subject, let me say that it was also at a school that

*Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, organized 20 years ago by Dr Benjamin Spock.

I experienced some bitter feelings. Not when we were warned for the nth time: "When you speak to schoolchildren remember that they know absolutely nothing about you. In most cases they do not even have Soviet history on their curriculum. All they know is based on Rambo...."

It happened in a Princeton school, an excellently equipped school with a well-thought-out and diversified programme for revealing and developing individual bents and talents at an early stage. Among the optional courses offered the youngsters was a "computerniks club." It was with an inexpressible feeling of not just envy that I read that russified word which appeared in English but does not yet exist in Russian. I had no quarrel with the Americans on this score—they want to give the rising generation a thorough grounding in computer techniques and must be given credit for that. But it is not to our credit that, having been the first to orbit a sputnik, we are now being overtaken where we were and should still be the pioneers.

We talk about competition between systems, about contest, rivalry. We proudly proclaim our faith in our future success. But what are we counting on if American children are joining computer-nik circles en masse, and ours are not? How will our children be able to overtake their children tomorrow if ours will not have gone beyond the abacus, which has yet to become a museum piece, or simple addition? Very well, let us not reduce everything to competition, but will our children and theirs tomorrow be able to participate on an equal footing in technological progress, which by its very nature is universal, global; will they be able to communicate in the same language when today it is already clear that that will be computer language? There is nothing more distressing than intellectually underdeveloped children. And this could happen through our own fault.

This is another aspect of what we shamefacedly call "stagnant phenomena." Enough of stagnation!

Our American trip took us to schools, hospitals, churches, city councils. And again schools of all grades, for all ages - from elementary classes to university auditoriums. And again churches and other places of worship - Baptist, Episcopal, Catholic. And each time we faced a squall of curiosity. In principle it was a bilateral exchange, but the odds were anything but equal: there were two, three or four of us while around us, dozens, at times hundreds of listeners and questioners. Discussions. Round-table talks. Parish dinners at which housewives brought their culinary masterpieces to the common table. The settings varied but the substance was the same - a session of questions and answers.

At first I tried to jot down all the questions, but I was kept too busy answering to take notes. Moreover, how to choose the most typical? Fortunately, schoolteacher Constance Hockberg kindly helped me to fill the gap. After one such meeting she sent me a list of the questions, with a note: "We are sorry that time did not permit us to discuss more of our questions. Perhaps you would be interested in knowing our concerns."

Here is the list.

Questions to the Russian guests

For us Democracy is a process that is continuously developing. How is communism viewed as a political system? Have you achieved the communist ideal? How would you define that ideal?

"We have been learning a new word in America. 'Glasnost' which we understand to mean a liberalization of political and economic life in the Soviet Union. Could you give us more insight into its meaning and especially the impact you think it will have on the average Soviet citizen? Is it being done for prestige or in response to people's needs?

"What is the attitude of Soviet citizens to the Soviet role in Afghanistan? Is there much public opinion expressed on it? Is there much news about it given to the Soviet citizens?

"In regard to public opinion, to what extent is it expressed in the Soviet Union? Can people write their own letters to the editor, stage demonstrations about things they feel strongly about and speak freely to their representatives in government? Is there censorship?

"What do you think are the long-range ramifications of Chernobyl and what happened to the people who were evacuated from the surrounding areas?

"Given that my understanding has been determined by the American media, it is my impression that a Soviet citizen could be denied the opportunity to leave the Soviet Union. Is this true? If it is true, why would the government feel it necessary to refuse exit visas to their citizens?

"Do you think the continual building of nuclear arms is necessary or beneficial for the security of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union? How do the average Soviet citizens feel about it? Do they demonstrate against them or are they apathetic?

"We hear about the efforts of Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union. How do the rest of the Soviet citizens view their efforts to achieve freedom of religion or the right to emigrate to Israel?

"Who are the favourite Russian writers and poets among our peers in your country? Can you tell us something about these writers and poets? How do you account for the national love of poets and poetry in the Soviet Union?

"Because of your visit I have become a bit of a celebrity in my school because I am the only one who can speak Russian. What percentage of our peers in your country speak English? What accounts for the difference? (A. Holodny.)

"Do you think that Americans and Soviets will compete together again in the next Olympic Games? Will it be a problem having the Games in South Korea? Do you think it fair that athletes must be restricted in their competitions because of the political dilemmas created by governments?

"Do you think that a joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. space mission would ever be possible? How probable do you think it is?

"What is your opinion on the introduction of Western goods and services such as MacDonalds, Pepsi Cola, Blue Jeans and music into the Soviet Union?

"Are there class distinctions among people in the Soviet Union? Do some groups receive more privileges than others?

"Do you feel that you have had the opportunity to pursue your dreams and try to realize your goals?

"How would you compare us with our peers in the Soviet Union?"

Common prayer

Being orthodox peace champions, we began Sunday in church - this time the church of the Unitarian Universalists in Wayne. A branch of Protestantism, the Universalists strive for maximum simplicity and worldliness. The meeting house of the New Jersey organization of SANE earned the honour of being called Peace Site. Rachmaninov's "Vocalise" and the song "Last Night I had the Strangest Dream" ("Last night I had the strangest dream I never dreamed before. I dreamed the world had all agreed to put an end to war") took the place of the customary hymn singing. We joined the congregation in praying that that golden dream of humanity might come true. The Reverend Pontier delivered the sermon.

He reminded his hearers of the prophetic words of Erasmus of Rotterdam: "There are times when peace must be purchased.... It is cheap at any price. We must look for peace by purging the very sources of war - false ambitions and evil desires. As long as individuals serve their own personal interests, the common good will suffer. Let them examine the self-evident fact that this world of ours is the Fatherland of the entire human race." The Reverend Pontier cited the 13-year-old girl named Wenonah Elms who

wakes from sleep each time airplanes fly overhead and cannot get back to sleep and Pope John Paul II who urged people not to "listen to voices which speak the language of hatred, revenge, retaliation." And he ended by enumerating the pressing needs of mankind. "The money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at 17 billion dollars a year. It is a huge sum of money... about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks."

On our first evening in the university city of Princeton, the city associated with the names of Paul Robeson and Albert Einstein, we were invited to a students' club. The walls were hung with posters - a small fraction of that all-American ribbon of protest posters that ringed the Pentagon on the day of that massive



A sticker issued by the Episcopal Peace Fellowship of New Jersey.

demonstration with which the August 4, 1985 march on Washington culminated. We were cordially welcomed by the mayor of the city and the head of the county council. A succession of home-talent performances on the club stage were given an exuberant reception by the audience - Americans in general, and especially young people, make receptive and generous audiences. Last to appear was a venerable, stoop-shouldered grey-haired man - "a Jewish narrator," the programme described him. In a surprisingly strong voice he launched out on a monologue on biblical themes in a very artful down-to-earth manner. Accompanying himself on a rare Indian instrument, he chanted his message presented in the form of questions to the audience to which he himself supplied the invariably unexpected answers. And the hall repeated in chorus his appealing message.

"God created Adam at the last moment of Creation," he intoned. "Why did God create Adam at the last moment of Creation? So that he should not become conceited - all the other creatures were created before him.

"God created Adam out of clay and stones - black, white, red and yellow -

taken from all four corners of the earth. Why did God create Adam out of clay and stones taken from all four corners of the earth? I shall tell you. So that all men who are descended from Adam - black and white, red and yellow - should feel equal. Equal.

"God created Adam in his own image. Why did God create Adam in his own image? Ask me, implore me, and I shall tell you. So that the children of Adam should continue his work in the creation of the world - so that they should make the world better, more beautiful and peaceful every day. Let us sing this refrain all together: to make this world better, more beautiful and peaceful every day.... Beautiful and peaceful. Peaceful.... Peaceful."

The head of the Episcopal Church in New Jersey, who showed us over the Trinity Cathedral in Trenton, the capital of the state, did not conceal his pride in the beauty of the building and its appointments. The Old World takes pride in antiquity, the New World - in what is new and glossy. This Cathedral, too, has been rebuilt and refurbished more than once in its time, to the glory of God and generous patrons. Impressive vaulted ceilings. An electrical organ with a fantastic resonance. And, the pride of the cathedral - a rich collection of Russian Orthodox icons. Where did they come from? The Bishop only knew that one of them - the centrepiece - had hung "in the tsar's palace." How did they happen to be in America? The Bishop was again at a loss. He believed some of them had been sold by the state in the thirties or forties. The rest had come through devious channels. They had gathered dust in New York bank vaults until some kind soul - a local parishioner - had bought them, ordered a modern iconostasis and donated them to the Cathedral. How much did they cost? The Bishop spoke with some awe of their "practical value" which he could estimate only indirectly: 25 years ago they had been insured for half a million dollars. In general, he added, they were priceless.

Unmistakably Russian faces of saints looked at us from the walls of an alien church in an American province....

An activist's story

But I forgot to say that here, too, we attended a service. The ritual was traditional, but this time the choice of the biblical texts was not accidental. "In Christ there is no East or West.... Join hands, disciples of the faith. Lord, make us instruments of your peace." And in some places the preacher improvised: "Grant, O God, that your holy and life-giving spirit may so move every human heart (and especially the hearts of the people of this land and the Soviet Union)

that barriers which divide us may crumble, suspicions disappear, and hatreds cease." The canonical prayer was thus tactfully concretized.

Religion and peace. The Church and the peace movement. This is an important and continuously developing subject of debate. Recognition of the amorality of the Bomb, realization that nuclear war is the supreme crime against God and Man is recorded in the documents issued by the higher clergy of the Catholic and Protestant churches of the United States. But how active should believers be in the protest movement? Is participation in it the duty of true believers or a transgression? Is there not an inadmissible shifting of accents here-from moral self-perfection to excessive involvement in mundane affairs? A debate on this subject is going on in many religious communities, with alternating success.

What we personally saw and heard in the course of this trip also showed that the balance in the matter of the believers' conscience tips now in the one now in the other direction. Local religious organizations figure prominently (in terms of activity, not money) in the Bridges of Friendship. Meeting with the activists of organizations like FREEZE, SANE or the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, I could not fail to notice how some of them, on introducing themselves, added the title of "Reverend" to their names. Robert Moor, for example, is executive director of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament.

I believe the story of Richard Hough-Ross, executive director of Bridges for Peace, is symptomatic.

"For seven years," he told me, "I served as a parish priest in Vermont. 'But when I started to work for peace and my contacts with the Russians began, some people didn't like it. Some parishioners started a campaign to have me replaced. In general I had strong support in the parish, but I had become a 'troublemaker' and that was not to everybody's taste. There are always some people who say: 'Formerly everything was quiet here, we have nothing against him personally, but would it not be better for him to go of his own free will?' And when Bridges for Peace offered me a position on the staff of this organization which suited me, I left. Although I am afraid I would have had to go in any case...."

I learned one more detail of his story when I spoke to Richard recently, this time in Moscow. It turns out that in his church (the United Church of Christ) he still figures as a minister. The Church regards the work he does as a director of Bridges for Peace the equivalent of that of a clergyman.

New Jersey - Moscow

THE "CHILDREN OF THE ARBAT" FIFTY YEARS ON

LEONID IONIN, Ph. D.

The characters in Anatoly Rybakov's "Children of the Arbat" (Druzhba Narodov magazine, Nos. 4-6) were young in 1934, the year in which the novel is set. Today they are in their seventies, having lived through the vicissitudes of the 1930s, the second world war, the difficulties of rebuilding the country, the 20th Congress and the period of stagnation, having witnessed the historic 27th CPSU Congress. They have adult grandchildren. And children, parents and grandparents alike are all now faced with the task of rebuilding what was started and founded in those distant days, remaking the superstructure, and consolidating the immutable socialist foundation, in which the country, the family and each individual human life is firmly based.

The split

The novel is a profound and honest work that reveals the sources of the present - the political system, social psychology and morals, Soviet mores in the widest sense of the word. A great split took place early in the 1930s and has left its imprint on the present: the split between the ideal and reality. This split - to use the language of philosophy, a metaphysical divergence between what is and what should be - is to this day palpable in our mentality, our feelings and our whole way of life. It may well be that overcoming it is the main object of the renewal that is gaining in scope in the country.

The period in which they were living confronted the characters in the novel with a choice. It formulated two systems of values. One of them embodied human values, and intrinsic to it were such qualities as honour, friendship, loyalty, high-mindedness, desire for good, and intolerance of suffering and oppression. But above all, inherent in this traditional system of values was man's responsibility for his own, freely made decisions.

The other system embodied other values. Outwardly they seemed the same and went by the same names. But they were directed not "inside" a man, but "outside" him. Honesty was not something that accorded with the demands of one's own conscience, but was truthfulness in respect of an external "instance."

Loyalty meant loyalty only to one, specific, person who was seen as the embodiment of the cause of the Party and the people. Faith was not faith in goodness but faith in the dogma. The name of goodness was used as a cover for cruelty and intolerance.

**Politics and morals
should never be
in conflict.
The moral essence
of the reform
is the unity
of words, deeds,
and conscience.**

The schism came. And the split passed through the heart and mind of each individual - of Mark Ryazanov, for example, the director of a huge construction project, a "captain of industry" with access to the highest spheres; of the diplomat Ivan Budyagin and, last but not least, of Sergei Kirov, a member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Party Committee. Kirov himself had persuaded Leningrad that Stalin's policy was correct. He felt that Stalin's line was correct but saw that his methods were unholy. And that was his tragedy: to take a stand against Stalin meant to take a stand against the party, against the cause of socialism itself.

Then there was Sasha Pankratov, just an ordinary student who became a victim of political intrigues. It was he who formulated the unbearable dilemma: the party or one's conscience.

Each resolved this dilemma in his own way. Mark Ryazanov cast aside all doubts and filled his soul with absolute love and adoration of his idol Stalin, with a sense of personal involvement in his greatness, which had assimilated the greatness of historic deeds. This meant an end to mercy, and the preaching of cruelty perpetrated in the name of

history. This has its pathos, its greatness, but it lacks humanity and for this reason has no human justification.

Others, like Budyagin and Kirov, challenged the injustice and flouting of eternal human values inherent in Stalin's policy. Thereby they signed their own death warrants.

It was probably most difficult for Sasha Pankratov. He was solving a purely moral problem in which political circumstances assumed the features of a moral dilemma. He too rejected the false dilemma, realizing that the principles of socialism most fully incorporate human moral values. But he was yet to discover these principles in their genuine form, having cleared away the chaff of prejudice and the specific slogans peculiar to a political struggle that were being passed off as a new universal morality. His path through prison and exile became the story of a struggle for the purity of socialist principles and, simultaneously, for the right of man to remain human in any circumstances.

At the boundary of fiction and reality

Rybakov's novel is a novel of exploration. Almost all the characters have real-life prototypes. The novel reveals what had previously been concealed, when literature, art and official science joined forces to create a sort of lacquered image of society in line with the proclaimed ideological dogmas. It shows the real complexity of social life, the diverse forms of social differentiation in those now distant times (as for us, we have discovered this differentiation only today and attribute it to the period of stagnation; when we say that our notions of the complexity and structure of society have remained at the level of the 1930s-1940s, we forget that then too they did not accord with reality). The novel paints a panorama of life that merits close sociological scrutiny.

The question of the moral assessment of the novel's characters is one of the

Notes by
a sociologist
in the margins
of a popular novel.

most interesting problems raised in the book. All the above-listed characters, with their contradictory views and actions, can be qualified as "positive" ones. They are positive if only because for them the dilemma is a moral one, and they suffer in the quest for the truth. They suffer and make mistakes, but they search. For them a policy is tested against morality. But it was demanded of them that they test morality against policy. They would not do so and therein lies their human greatness.

The forces of evil are personified by other people, such as Yagoda and Yezhov, who belonged to the highest echelon of power. But among them there are also some of the "children of the Arbat" - Sasha Pankratov's classmates and friends. What they have in common is the inability to raise and resolve moral problems. The concepts "honest" and "dishonest," "wrong" and "noble," do not exist for them. They think in other categories: "power," "strength," "advantage," "interest," and they join the ranks of the strong, although the moral, ideological substantiation of this strength remains alien to them.

Their stand is divorced from morality; they are cynics. For Sharok, who becomes a staff member of the NKVD, the Russian acronym for People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, cynical policy is the only guideline for what he does in life. The new apparatus created to preserve power was formed from such people as Sharok, from people like Stolper, the secretary of a party district committee, from people like department head of the Central Committee, Yezhov, and People's Commissar (Minister), Yagoda. It is a worthwhile sociological exercise to analyse the social processes that led to the emergence of the new elite.

Stalin stands at the top of the pyramid. One can argue about psychological characteristics, and the psychological motivation for various decisions of Stalin in the novel. One can argue, because on the whole they play a secondary role. In the forefront is the logic of power, the logic of omnipotence, portrayed by Rybakov with great force. In the book Kirov says that Stalin "knows the secret of power." The writer reveals this secret. And Stalin's logic of power turns out to be something much bigger than Stalin's own thinking, than his substantiation of this or that political action. It turns out to be the logic of the very system created by Stalin.

It will be the job of future scholars to assess Rybakov's understanding of the philosophy of power. I will confine myself to one episode presented in detail in the novel. The main "moves" of this logic are reflected in it as in a mirror.

Abel Yenukidze's reminiscences of the revolutionary underground in Baku were

published in 1933, and it was recorded in them that in accordance with Lenin's instructions only three persons - Yenukidze, Ketskhoveli and Krasin - were to know and did know about the underground printing plant code-named Nina. Stalin was not one of the three.

Stalin was angered by the booklet as, according to his political logic, the substantiation of the "continuity of political and state leadership" made it "imperative to accept" that Stalin had not only known about the printing plant but had also directly supervised its work. Stalin wanted Kirov to refute Yenukidze's reminiscences. Kirov refused because he did not want to compromise his conscience for the sake of political expediency. The job was entrusted to Beria, who subsequently coped with it "marvellously." From then on the fictional element in history began to be viewed as true reality, while any appeal to the actual state of affairs, that is any appeal to the truth, which was personally distasteful to Stalin, was labelled a political "action," an "intrigue," a "sally."

From the height of the road travelled

It will be recalled that Lenin was concerned equally with the competence and moral qualities of Party leaders and revolutionaries.

With Stalin, it was different. There emerged an alternative truth, alternative reality, alternative morals which warped many minds. Morality was of no political consequence, it didn't become a factor of creation. You either accepted lies and all the concomitant cruelty and injustice (while remaining "loyal to the cause," i.e., to Stalin), or upheld the truth, thus alienating yourself from the "priorities of the day," from "the political juncture" and, in the final analysis, from the party. The dilemma of the times was not as simple as that, however, because being loyal to Stalin also meant strengthening the Soviet state, enhancing its might and defence capacity - in other words, working for the good of the Motherland.

Then what about the losses, both social and human, and the decisions that had to be paid so dearly for? Loyalty to Stalin meant action... for the country's good or evil? This is the question that torments the characters in the novel - and not them alone.

The seeds sown by Stalin fell on a definite ethical and ideological soil. The activity of the masses grew at a rate surpassing that of their political maturation many times over. Vigorous new men often lacked deep-rooted political traditions. Faith (often blind) in the truth of simple (often all too simple) postulates

came first. And these postulates clashed with the far from simple social reality of the time. Therein lay the source of the tragedies of hundreds and millions of people.

We are now to some extent seeing things "from above," from the height of the road we have travelled, and from such a vantage point it is easier to judge the "mechanism" of the origin of the warped morality, the warped perception of the world. The point is that by invoking such "mechanism," a person who makes decisions and moral choices independently strives to absolve himself of responsibility. But this choice is always there. Personal freedom is always with us, regardless of the difficulty of the choice. And this is reaffirmed by many characters in the novel, who set inspiring examples of humanity, courage and trust. Their fidelity to principle and duty became an earnest of the distant future that would come to be more than twenty long years later, evidence of the inexhaustible and indestructible moral strength of our people advancing along the excruciatingly difficult road of building a new world.

It would be naive to think that Rybakov's novel is about the past or only about the past. For the past lives on in us and is an element of our present. In the novel the old Bolshevik and chairman of a party commission Soltz addresses the following words to the "eradicators of sedition": "I see how you break young lives. I see how you torture and torment them. It is of these that Lenin said that they are to live under communism. What sort of communism are you giving them?" And these lives, that began in such bitterness and sorrow, continue today. The past lives on in the psychology of society, in its mores, its daily life: and society takes great pains lest there persist lack of consideration, excessive cruelty and intolerance. The alternative morality has not been completely eradicated and lives on; the unthinking acceptance of dogmas which has taken the place of free and honest opinion is tenacious, as are notions of the incompatibility of politics and conscience.

Indeed, it is ludicrous to think that moral problems will ever be definitively solved, or that there will be a time without any moral problems. The conflicts described in the novel may recur if fidelity, honesty and adherence to principle clash with considerations of gain, career and personal advantage. The problem of the unity of words and deeds is a universal human problem, and it is particularly acute today when the children of the Arbat, who are now grandfathers, are taking part in the country-wide effort for national renewal. The supreme moral meaning of the renewal is to eradicate "political" duplicity, and live in conditions where word, deed and conscience are at one.

The lights have faded, the flag is down

NEYA ZORKAYA



On the eve of the closing of the festival the panel of judges (no leak of information) was deciding in secret to whom to award the main prizes - it was no easy task to choose four out of 27. The last votes were cast and counted, and the first prizes were awarded. Robert De Niro himself, accompanied by a Soviet fellow-judge Rustam Ibragimov, had to rush to the Professional Film Workers' Club (PFWC) on Vasilevskaya Street for one of the important final sessions.

At its closing meeting the club was staging yet another contest - a rather unusual one for us - the choice of a Miss PFWC-87. The beautiful women - activists of the club - had gathered on the stage. There were blondes from the North and black-eyed beauties from the Caucasus. Also on the stage was the International Male panel of judges (headed by De Niro). Their task was probably no less difficult than selecting prize-worthy films. The debates were heated, testing the audience's patience, until the final results were announced.

The chairman of the panel announced that there would be two prize-winners, not one. Prizes (an ancient Russian head-dress and a cashmere shawl) were presented to the popular actress Lyubov Polishchuk and a theatrical school student Nina Sarukhanova. After that Robert De Niro, somewhat embarrassed, admitted that his personal choice had been different, and he led onto the stage the lovely Georgian Iya Parulava.

American-Soviet film union

The PFWC fully deserved its festive farewell gala: the film workers had done an excellent job. The level of the

discussions, the informative previews, and the absorbing reports (as, for instance, that by the well-known historian Lev Gumilev on his theory of the stages in the development of ethnos) were compatible with the businesslike atmosphere, the clear-cut decisions, and vigorous spirit of the declarations.

The meeting between Soviet and American film workers was in effect, as Elem Klimov stressed, the first meeting of the working group of the new public organization - the ASC, the American-Soviet Cinema initiative. It came into being last March when a delegation of the Soviet Film Workers' Union visited the United States. The Moscow meeting carried the new contacts a step further. A programme was drawn up for the next two years, providing for joint film productions and the holding of film weeks, symposia and conferences, the exchange of film institute students, and other forms of cooperation.

The American producer Mark Gerson, who was elected the ASC president, said the film workers of the two countries were at the beginning of that new stage in their relations where there was every possibility of replacing the "enemy stereotype" with that of "friend and neighbour". An excellent intention! Perhaps members of the ASC would be interested to learn that the idea of a Russian-American film union originated in the years when the film industry was in its infancy.

In 1913 there was an exchange of letters on the subject between a New York businessman, A. Olsher, and a member of the Russian State Duma (parliament), F. Rodichev. A report on the exchange was presented to Nicholas II, and the tsar wrote this memorandum on it: "I regard the cinema as an empty, useless and even harmful form of entertainment. Only a deranged individual could place this cheap and vulgar business on the same level as the arts..." and more in the same vein. The idea was naturally dropped.

Soviet and foreign participants in the festival set about energetically organizing an International Association of Women Film Workers when they met at the PFWC for a women's debate. Businesslike decisions were taken, a programme of action decided on and an organizing committee elected.

The idea of setting up an international association was also raised during the heated debates at the symposium on the role of films in the efforts to avert nuclear war. It was provisionally named Film Workers in the Struggle for Peace. In this way the discussions on artistic and social problems within the framework of the film festival immediately materialized in the form of organizations, decisions and plans.

It is common knowledge that there is often a long way between words and deeds. But the general readiness to proceed from discussion to action is a hopeful sign. At the Sovinform, however, action seemed to be the watchword. An agreement was signed with the American company Midwood Productions to make a whole series of films. The shooting of the first of the five planned films will soon begin in the children's and teenagers' film section of Mosfilm under the direction of Rolan Bykov. Columbia Pictures, with director Stanley Kramer as producer, is planning to make a film about Chernobyl. The script will be written by Ales Adamovich. Many Soviet films made at various times and now taken out of cold storage were bought by the foreign release firms.

And so the first undeniable outcome of the 15th Moscow film festival was the widening of contacts, the reaching of mutual understanding on a number of major issues and a strong desire for cooperation - all sealed by contracts and an atmosphere of trust and rapprochement. That is why the festival, like the forum that took place in February, is so much in the spirit of our age of glasnost and perestroika.

"Those two words are today the best known in the world," said Gabriel Garcia Marquez, an outstanding contemporary novelist, a script writer and president of the New Latin American Film Fund, who was a guest at the festival. The Italian film by Francesco Rosi "Chronicle of an Announced Death," based on his book, was shown in the Panorama programme. On July 15 Gabriel Garcia Marquez was received by Mikhail Gorbachev. His subsequent press conference in the Hotel Rossiya attracted a large number of journalists and was one of the highlights of the festival.



Federico Fellini and his Grand Prix. A special prize went to the Soviet film director Karen Shakhnazarov (left) for his film "Messenger."

Photo by A. Knyazev

An excellent speaker, charming and witty, Marquez told his audience: "Glasnost in the Soviet Union is not simply a reality - it is a super-reality. Proof of this can be found in today's newspaper reports about my meeting with Gorbachev. From them you can learn what we talked about.... Gorbachev is a very communicative man, with whom it is easy to talk on any subject. He has a fine sense of humour, which is very important for me. In addition, he is able to convince the person he is talking with of his goodwill based on optimism and a desire to complete what he has started."

His sincerity made a tremendous impression on me. And finally, it was pleasant to see that in real life he looks even younger than in his photographs. I never thought that I would turn out to be older than any of the Soviet leaders."

Too few prizes

First some figure: 1,600 participants from 106 countries, film organizations and West Berlin; more than 500 films of all kinds and genres shown during the festival as part of the contest, hors-concours, and special retrospectives. That is, of course, terrific!

Let me list the main public and special prizes, and the citations that went with them. The award of the UNESCO International Film and Television Council went to "Charing Cross Road, 84" (Britain), and the award of the International Federation of the Cinematographic Press - to "Hero of the Year" Poland, director Feliks Falk). For hors-concours films there was a special Andrei Tarkovski prize. It went to the Young Soviet Film programme, with a special prize for the work of the young director Alexander Sokurov. To this I should like to add that this prize - so dear to our hearts - was a tribute at once to the great interest of the world film community in the young Soviet film industry and the success of the retrospective "The Artist's World - the work of Andrei Tarkovski," which was a major cultural attraction of the festival.

The Soviet Peace Committee prizes were awarded to "Mum, How Do You Spell Gorbachev?" (Australia) and "Mother Teresa" (U.S.A.).

The Soviet Film Workers' Union awarded its prize to the programme of Polish films ("Hero of the Year," "Blind Chance," "The Big Run") - for their profound and skilful elaboration of social and moral themes.

The Soviet critics' prizes went to the contest film "The Serpent's Way" by Bo Widerberg (Sweden) and the hors concours film by Gianni Moretti, "The Mass is Over" (Italy).

And then came the moment when the main festival hall, all its lights blazing, filled for the closing ceremony. The panel of judges showed no negligible ability to keep a secret. Certainly few people knew what to expect.

The results of the contest of films for children and teenagers were perhaps predictable. They were announced by the chairman of the panel of judges, Parwati Menon, standing in the spotlight in her golden sari. The audience calmly and happily applauded. It had long been said that this was the least controversial part of the contest programme, and that one could predict

the prize-winner. The main prize went to the American film "The Journey of Natty Gann" by Jeremy Kagan. It is the story of a 15-year-old girl, who during difficult times for her country, 1935, leaves home to look for her father who is away in search of work. This serious film was shown at the closing of the festival, a "first" ever for a film from the smaller programme.

The next group of films "Wondrous Child" (Poland), "Speak Boldly" (Italy) and "Bach and Broccoli" (Canada) well deserved their prizes.

It was Ales Adamovich, who presided over the panel of judges of documentary and short films, who had the greatest difficulty. Unfortunately, the finest films (mostly Soviet) were for various reasons shown in the hors concours programme, which was better than the contest one. The gold prize was not awarded at all. The honorary gold prize went symbolically to all the groups involved in filming of the tragedy of Chernobyl. The silver prizes went to "The Images of a Portrait" (Mozambique), which Adamovich described as "the passionate appeal of the downtrodden, the hungry and the overlooked," and to the short cartoon "Autobiography" (Czechoslovakia). And that was all. The disappointment of all those who had pinned their hopes on the documentary film programme makes one wonder if it isn't high time that documentaries, in view of their great significance, be shown at a special international festival in the Soviet Union.

And, finally, the results of the contest of feature films. Here the reverse situation prevailed. There were not enough prizes for the most meaningful, interesting and at times brilliant films. The contest, though a little uneven, surpassed all expectations. That, of course, makes us very happy. But it is a pity that there were not enough prizes for such films as "Guard Schmutz" by an Austrian newcomer to films, Paulus Manker, the original, yet classically traditional story of a man in uniform turned into a mindless appendage. Nor was there a prize for the Yugoslav "Autumn Festival," the French "Jean de Florette" by Claude Berri, nor the bitter Norwegian "Hard Asphalt." Or, especially for the delicate psychological analysis of inequality, violence and the enslavement of one person by another in "The Serpent's Way" by Bo Widerberg, marvellously produced and wonderfully acted by Stina Ekblad.

Of course, we all rejoiced with the star of the Hungarian film "Love, Mother," Dorottya Udvaros, who won the best actress award, and with Anthony Hopkins, who received the best actor award for his part in "Charing Cross Road, 84." But unfortunately his co-star Ann Bancroft was left without a prize. One of the most interesting film actresses of our time, her portrayal of the American authoress was superb.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that by cutting down on the number of prizes we went to the other extreme and jumped from the frying pan into the fire. One therefore understands why the judges had to share the special prize between the Polish film "Hero of the Year" (it lived up to its title and walked off with the largest number of prizes) and the Soviet film "Messenger." I can tell the reader in confidence that, according to my information (strictly unofficial), there was no pressure to give the film a prize. It was simply that the fate of Ivan Miroshnikov, the strange hero of Karen Shakhnazarov's film, did indeed seem extraordinarily topical and touched the hearts of people from different countries.

The return of Fellini

Prizes are now awarded in ascending order of merit. And when at the end it was announced that the Grand Prix had been awarded to Federico Fellini, the audience, just as it was 24 years ago, almost brought the house down with its storm of applause. Fellini had returned. His film "The Interview" - someone dubbed it "20 1/2" following his "8 1/2" (which won the Grand Prix in Moscow in 1963) had come after 12 other films.

What can one say in only a few words about "The Interview," which deserves a profound study and analysis? It is a magnificent work of art, brilliant, with the spark of genius, a synthesis and renewal of all that has run like a burning thread through his work, and above all - his love of people and passionate appeal for unity.

But that was not the end of the festival. The next morning Fellini and Giulietta Masina went to the Horizont cinema, where yet another prize was awarded to the film. The prize of 105 Soviet film clubs, unanimously awarded to Fellini, is a huge red and gold toy cock. In the packed cinema, the film audiences' final meeting of the festival was with their favourite film director (earlier guests had been Milos Forman, Margarethe von Trotta, Vera Hitilova and other festival stars). There in the cinema Fellini gave a live interview that lasted all of two hours.

I think there is a certain logic in the fact that the festival ended on Komso-molski Prospekt, not far from the place where Leo Tolstoy once lived, and that it was film audiences made of people from all parts of the country who met Fellini. If there had been prizes available for festival centres, the Horizont cinema would have deserved the Grand Prix.

And by tradition we end - the festival lights have faded, the flag is down till 1989.

Narcomafia and narcomania

An epilogue to the U.N. conference

Not many international meetings have been characterized by such unanimity on the part of the participants as the ten-day-long U.N. International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking held in Vienna. Governments are coming to realize that the danger of drug addiction is growing, and that recrimination only plays into the hands of the mafia. The lives of individuals and whole nations caught up in the criminal narcotics business can be blighted. United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who sponsored the conference, had every reason to say that narcomania was a tragedy of humanity.

Who has the upper hand?

A tragic report came from Venezuela on the day the conference opened: 14 people had been killed when an attempt was made to destroy a marijuana plantation. The mind boggles at the destructive force of the "godfathers" of the cocaine trade who have found asylum in South America. But then "asylum" is not the word. They reign almost supreme, while the authorities are in fear of them.

And here is a report from Colombia: 12 members of the Supreme Court of Justice hearing cases of illegal production of and trafficking in narcotics have been assassinated in the past two years. The court is losing the battle step by step. It has invalidated earlier agreements to extradite drug traffickers who have fled from the U.S.A. It has described the tribunal established to investigate most dangerous crimes as "unconstitutional." The minister of justice has chosen to resign. One of his predecessors was assassinated. Another, wounded by five bullets, survived. For fear of vengeance, courts of the lower instance no longer sentence those involved in the narcotics business.

An illegal Colombian "production base" has recently been discovered in Amazonia, coca bush plantations over an area of 200 sq. km (an area equal to that of a large European capital). Dozens of laboratories and hundreds of installations for the preliminary processing of coca leaves had been found in the jungle. It was a veritable industry. Multinational criminal organizations, whose annual

trade turnover runs to 300 billion dollars, are in some countries more powerful and active than governments.

It is estimated that more than half of American school pupils have tried narcotics. It is not only young people, who are curious to know what narcotics are like and try to imitate others, that get "hooked" on drugs. People who despair of finding jobs and regard themselves as failures also resort to them. Exhausted by competition, and constant stress, businessmen, too, use narcotics as a stimulant. Newspapers report that cocaine addiction is widespread among British businessmen. One in five patients in the expensive private clinics where cocaine



A drug pusher meets a customer.
From the magazine Paris-Match (France)

addicts are treated is a gentleman from the City.

Addressing the conference, a representative of the Common Market spoke of the threat of the mafia making inroads into Western Europe. Having corrupted the young in the United States, the mafia have now set out to attack the younger generation in the Old World. There are from 150,000 to 200,000 drug users in major cities in the Common Market countries, and in all between 1.5 and 2 million drug users in Western Europe. But experts warn that the figure could soar to 20 million, that is, reach the same proportions as in the United States.

Experts analyzing the state of the U.S. economy hold that the spread of drug abuse is not the least reason for the

Problem No.1. He has made a call for intolerance of drug users on the campus and at the workplace. But the use of cocaine in the United States has trebled during his presidency. Characteristically, it is during Reagan's tenure that state appropriations for combating drug abuse, and explaining the danger of narcotics have been systematically cut.

Dangerous compromises and lethal viruses

There is a theory in a number of West European countries, as, for instance, in the Netherlands, that drug users should

West European cities 30, 50 and even 70 per cent of drug users have AIDS.

Another "virus" that gives a horrifyingly aggressive thrust to narcomania is, as Sweden's representative put it, financial greed. It is manifested in the proliferation of ever cheaper and more dangerous drugs. The most vivid example is crack, a narcotic on a cocaine base. An ounce of crack brings drug pushers 4,200 dollars in net profits, as against 1,000 dollars in profits from the sale of the same amount of cocaine. And crack is even more addictive than cocaine.

It is the pursuit of gain that motivated chemists, at the mafia's bidding, to engage in synthesizing new drugs. While narcotics stream in from Asia and Latin America, there is a flow of chemical narcotics in the opposite direction, from the North. There are some two hundred of such drugs synthesized in underground laboratories. And they are extremely addictive: a single dose is enough to create a dependency.

The "virus" of greed has long thrived in certain pharmaceutical monopolies. Pharmaceutical concerns manufacture habit-forming medicines, and their users later turn to heroin and cocaine.



After a fix.... Photograph taken in an apartment in Leningrad.

TASS photo

United States' gradual loss of its leading position in the capitalist world.

It is claimed that production is being seriously affected by irresponsible attitudes, shoddy workmanship, and aversion to work - qualities that invariably go with drug addiction. Isn't this an overstatement? It is not. An American firm with 400 employees established that 90 per cent of its personnel were more or less regular drug users. The record for drug abuse goes to Silicon Valley, the centre of U.S. microelectronics. A ton of cocaine is used there a year. According to some estimates, narcomania-related losses in the U.S. economy amount to 60 billion dollars a year. The calamity has assumed such proportions that President Reagan has proclaimed drug abuse national

be left in peace and that, moreover, they should be sold narcotics at low prices so as to deprive the mafia of its fabulous profits and, in the long run, emasculate it. Special emphasis is placed on the theory of the freedom of the individual to do as he chooses. It is also reasoned that in the advanced stages of drug addiction victims are incapable of holding down jobs and are constantly in need of money. This leads to drug-related crime and prostitution. It is said that the problem could be solved by supplying cheap narcotics. What is the result?

Dozens of young people are dying every day in the Dutch capital, Amsterdam, to which they have been drawn by cheap drugs.

AIDS is a terrible concomitant of drug abuse. Tests show that 15-20 per cent of drug addicts have the virus. According to Common Market information, in some

49,000...

The conference heard reports on the state of affairs in socialist countries. The head of the Soviet delegation, U.S.S.R. Deputy Health Minister A. Moskvichev, put the number of narcotic-users registered in the U.S.S.R. at 49,000. The overwhelming majority of them undergo treatment.

"Nevertheless, the use of narcotics is on the rise," he said. "Strict measures - prison terms, confiscation of property - are used against drug traffickers. We are trying to help people who have formed a dependence on narcotics. There are hospitals and wards for treating such patients. The problem of narcotics being smuggled from abroad hardly exists for our country. Every measure is taken to prevent the transportation of narcotics via Soviet territory. The U.S.S.R. customs, for instance, recently apprehended a ton of hashish intended for a certain Western country."

The Soviet Union has decided to participate in the work of the U.N. Fund for Drug-Abuse Control. It will contribute medical equipment and medicines to the fund, and assist it in training personnel.

GEORGI OSTROUMOV

Vienna

Student athletes pass the test

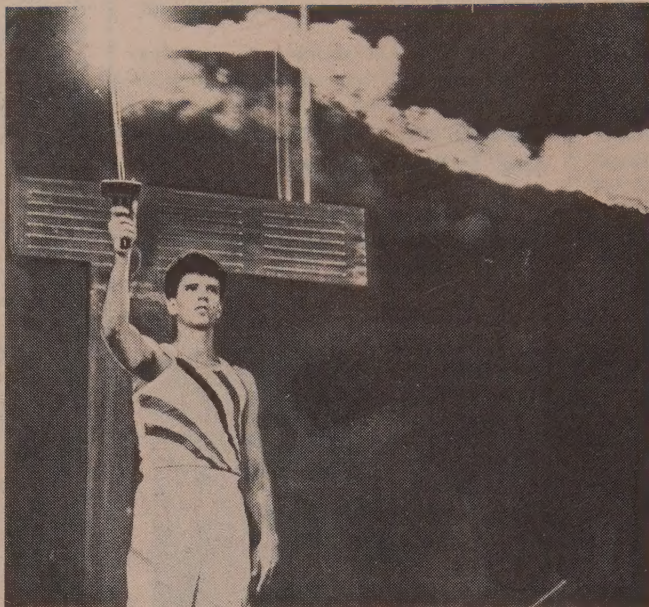
Youth, sport and peace are inseparable. This was asserted with conviction by participants and guests at the International Students Summer Games, indeed by everyone I talked to in ancient Zagreb, the capital of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, where the games took place.

In the number of athletes and participating countries the 1987 students games were the most representative ever. More than 5,300 athletes from 122 countries competed in strength, agility and speed in 12 sports.

The slogan of the games was "Peace to Youth - For Peace on Earth." The U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, who came to Yugoslavia as a guest of honour of the games, stated: "It is only in peace that young people can fulfil their aspirations. This meeting of young people from different countries in an atmosphere of healthy and creative competition will help overcome racial, ethnic, national and cultural prejudices. And in this sense the games in Zagreb are a mission of peace."

It is highly symbolic that it was exactly during this holiday that our planet greeted its five billionth inhabitant. The newcomer, Matej Gaspar, was born in Zagreb on July 11, 1987 in the family of a worker. Announcing his birth here, Perez de Cuellar expressed hope that the birth of the five billionth inhabitant of the world has begun a new generation of human beings who will not know the meaning of war.

Primo Nebiolo, president of the International University Sports Federation (FISU),



Drazen Petrovic, the Yugoslav basketball player, kindles the Universiad flame.

EPA-TASS photo

stressed that the presence of the U.N. Secretary-General at the games was an indication of the prestige of the student sports movement.

The organizers of the 1987 games put a great deal of effort into them. Representatives of Yugoslavia's various republics and regions worked superbly. On the eve of the games the people of Zagreb volunteered to donate at least three days' income to the organizing committee.

In an interview with your correspondent Boris Rogatin, the first vice-president of FISU, said that on the whole the students games were a success and that the Yugoslavs had done very much to make this possible.

"A regular FISU general

assembly was held in Zagreb," Boris Rogatin went on. "It reflected the growing popularity of student sport in socialist countries. Their representation on the Federation's executive committee has grown considerably. At the assembly much attention was paid to the development of student sport in Asian, African and Latin American countries, and to increasing their participation in the games. It is indicative that the Brazilian city of Sao Paulo has been chosen as the venue for the next games."

"The participants in the assembly," Boris Rogatin said further, "were virtually unanimous that only student sport can serve as a basis of future games. Let us hope that there will no longer be any 'eternal

students' at the games. The first step has already been taken to ensure this: the names of all sportsmen taking part in student games are now being fed into computers."

It is noteworthy that the backbone of the Soviet team in Zagreb was formed of sportsmen making their first appearance in competitions of such major international importance. As the head of the Soviet delegation, Boris Rogatin said, the Soviet team had been democratically selected by identifying the best athletes in a series of multi-stage competitions at institutions of higher learning and at district, republic and national level. "In fact, given the necessary training, virtually any student athlete had a chance of qualifying for the team," he stressed. "As for such famous athletes as Yelena Shushunova, Yuri Korolyov, Natalya Lissovskaya and Igor Paklin, they were invited to join the team to cement it."

When the Soviet team was being formed, the emphasis was laid in the main on relatively unknown athletes. Nevertheless, our students won the biggest number of medals and were placed first in the unofficial team classification. The gymnasts, track-and-fielders and tennis players were fairly impressive. On the other hand, the results in team sports were modest. Only our footballers, who convincingly defeated South Korea in the final (5-0), managed to "strike gold." The fact that the performance of Soviet students was less impressive than at previous games should not disappoint us. What matters is that many newcomers to big-time sport have gained valuable experience of competitions of such a high standard.

VLADIMIR GRISHNY
Our own correspondent
Zagreb-Belgrade

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

TEMPS NOUVEAUX
TEMPOS NOVOS
NEUE ZEIT
NOWE CZASY
TIEMPOS NUEVOS
TEMPI NUOVI
NOVÁ DOBA
NEW TIMES

НОВОЕ
ВРЕМЯ



NEW TIMES '88
We offer more...

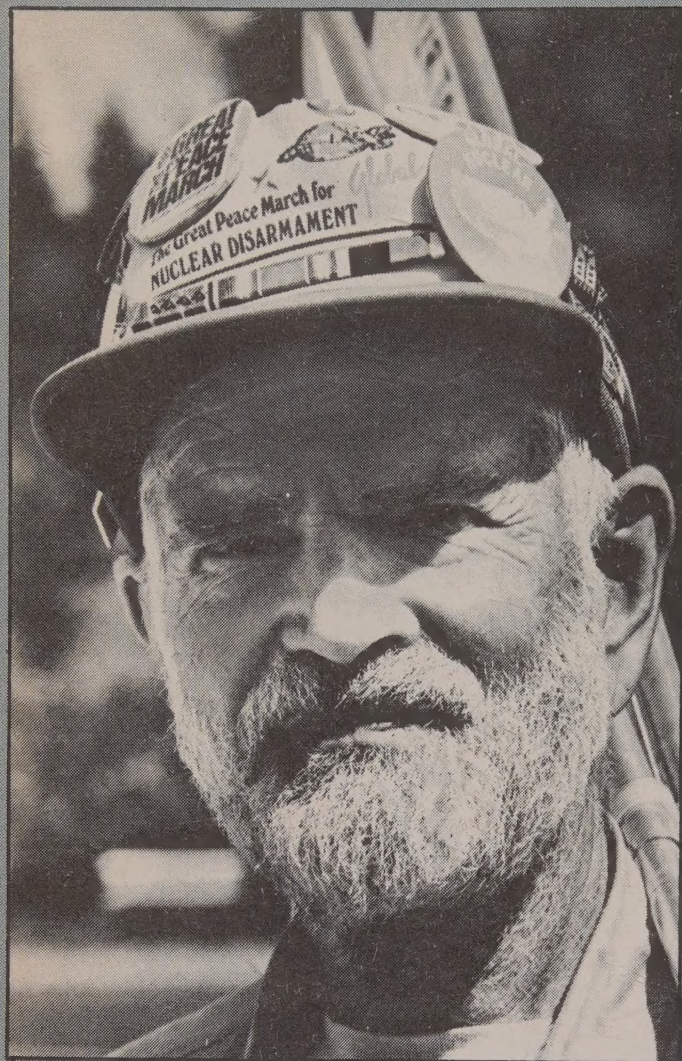
Founded in 1943, New Times is now published in nine languages—Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech—and read in 109 countries. We have our regular readers, and we know them well. They don't settle for straight news, want to see what's behind it. They are interested in profiles of politicians, the inner workings of power structures, and inside stories... And they have their own ideas about what's going on in the world. They often disagree with our staff writers—and argue with them in our pages.

Contributions by Soviet and foreign statesmen and party leaders, prominent scientists and journalists, analytic articles on the home and foreign policies of the Soviet Union, documentary articles, notes, comments, articles on science, literature and art, on-the-spot reports from our own correspondents in

Algiers, Belgrade, Berlin, Bonn, Bucharest, Delhi, Havana, Kabul, Lusaka, Managua, New York, Stockholm and Tokyo—all this makes New Times a must for the alert reader.

New Times is a political weekly of special relevance today when the Russian word perestroika has become a key term in the planet's political vocabulary. New Times is keeping its readers up-to-date on the process of perestroika and democratization in the U.S.S.R.

We don't offer discounts to those wishing to take out a year's subscription to New Times. We offer them more: 48 pages per issue instead of the present 32, without extra charge, plus two free supplements featuring comment on vital problems of world politics.



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Alexei Fyodorov (U.S.S.R.)



Soviet-American
March for Peace